

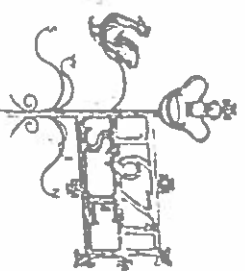
HORNS OF HONOUR

AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE
BY-WAYS OF ARCHÆOLOGY

*Xerox
Jan 12/1900*

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AND "THE WOOD BOOK OF WEST SOMERSET," ETC.

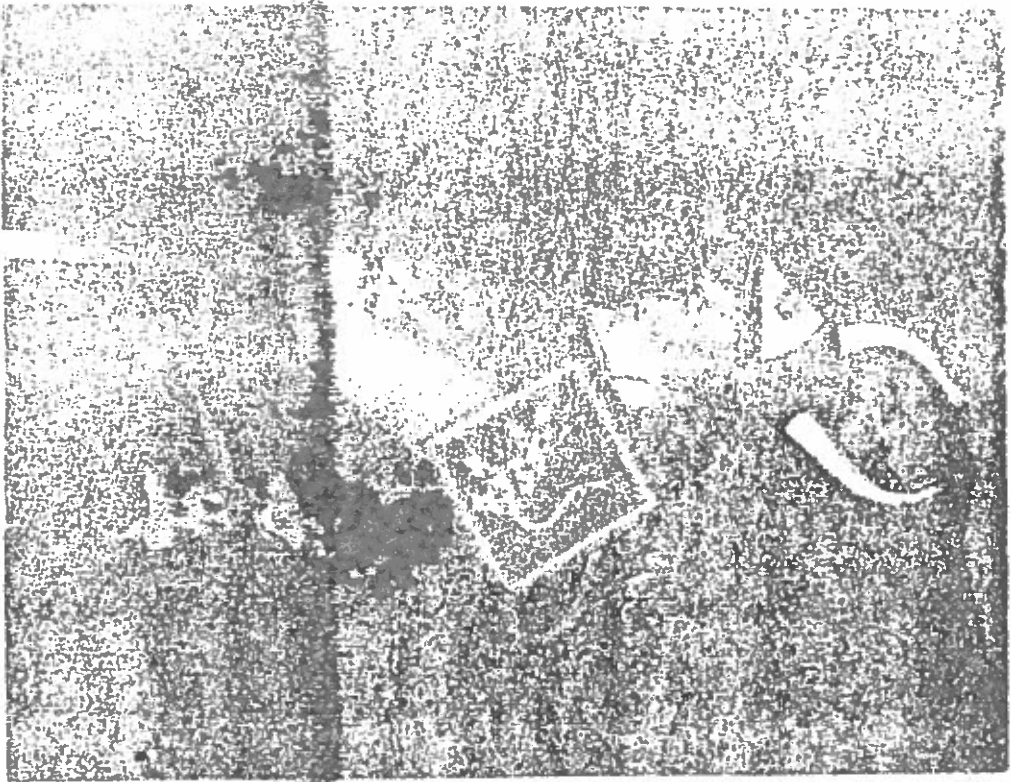
WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS



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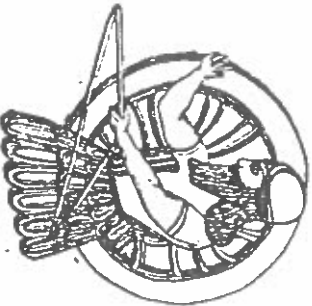
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PREFACE

THE very kind reception accorded to my book on *The Evil Eye* has emboldened me, and must be taken as my excuse for appearing again, probably for the last time, before the public.

Although I have now scarcely touched upon the former subject, yet its presence is so manifest in every phase of ancient and uncultured life of to-day, that just as all roads lead to Rome, so every study of manners or beliefs seems inevitably to lead up to, or at least to be closely influenced by, that all-prevailing fear.

As before, I have no theories to propound or to support, and wherever in these pages anything of the nature of a thesis may appear, I have only to say that it is simply put forward as the result of a conclusion from purely inductive processes.

I presume to be no more than an observer and noter of such facts as from time to time come in my way; consequently, as before, inconsistencies will

be found, but with these I am not concerned; nature as viewed by us, is most inconsistent, and my business is with facts, whether they tell for or against the conclusions at which personally I have arrived.

In whatever direction of study one may set out, it is utterly impossible to pursue a definitely circumscribed line—the historian must branch into geography, the geologist into zoology, and hence arise many paradoxes. Without comprehending a word of it, I have lately been asked if I knew anything of "Geometrical Chemistry," and without a blush confessed my ignorance; so in my first chapter I have to bring the reader face to face, even on the Frontispiece, with "Pictorial Etymology," and yet I hope that the curious facts, to be verified by anybody, will be so evident as to dissolve that paradox. So too I hope it may become as evident to the reader as it has to the writer, that the crown of royalty has for one of its elements the horns of Egyptian deities.

One object I have kept steadily in view, especially in the final chapters—that of placing the evidence, whether for or against, in juxtaposition, and particularly when the facts dealt with depend upon pictorial illustration; and I venture to hope that by so marshalling the objects side by side, not only

will the interest of the reader be better served, but he will thereby have the opportunity of judging the conclusions I have come to from the like comparison.

An apology is needed for the quality of some of the sketches. They were made at different times, often at long intervals, and frequently under very adverse circumstances. Moreover, I do not pretend to any skill, and only use my own productions when no better are obtainable.

The subject of the *Dischi Sacri*, the antitypes of the *Mano Puntea*, is of considerable interest and importance to the classical mythologist, for the reason that the objects themselves, though very common and clearly belonging to the everyday life of the ages to which they belonged, are unnoticed in any contemporary literature, while the great number of the *Dischi Sacri*, as well as of the symbolic hands, seems to open a new field for the study of archaeologists. If, then, the true function of archaeology be that of enabling us to realise more truly the life of the past, I submit with all diffidence that this little book will not have failed if it suggests to other and abler students a fresh branch of interesting research.

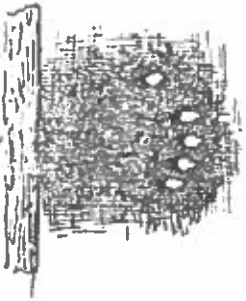
I have only further to express my obligation and cordial thanks to Mr. G. E. Marindin for several

corrections in Latinity, which after fifty years of neglect had naturally become well-nigh a reminiscence. For several valuable suggestions in mythology I am further deeply indebted to him.

While writing these lines, a curious comment upon my remarks upon the persistent charges of ritual murder against early Christians and Templars appears in the trial at Nameszto in Hungary, noticed in this week's *Spectator*, where the Jews are alleged to have murdered a boy to obtain his blood for ritual purposes.

FRED. T. ELWORTHY.

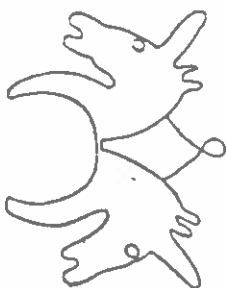
FOXDOWN, January 1st 1900.



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Italian Watermark on a M.S. of the Fourteenth Century:
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HORNS OF HONOUR

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

IN the following pages it is assumed that all attempts at decoration, whether of the person in the way of dress, or of pattern, shown by curved lines or other evidence of design, however crude, upon inanimate objects, had in their origin some definite idea or fact which it was intended to illustrate. In other words, no pictorial device of primitive man beyond the simplest straight strokes upon his pottery was simply arbitrary; but however rude in execution, every stroke or figure had a meaning of its own. In fact we believe that generally all attempts at decoration were more or less ideographic, and in support of this belief, it is only necessary here to refer to the familiar example in the writing of Egypt—the wavy line denoting water—and to point out that it is practically the same line so often seen upon a variety of ætæc vessels for holding liquid. Thus when untutored man wished to indicate the sun he drew a circle, and often improved on it by

adding radiating strokes like a wheel. When he wanted to indicate the moon he drew or scratched something like a crescent.

In these days, however, when the original idea has been long forgotten, and the decorative item has developed into a very remote likeness to its prototype, it is extremely difficult to trace back the elaborate productions of modern civilisation to their progenitors in the rude devices of our remote forefathers.

The books on Art and its origin are legion, and no attempt will here be made even to touch the fringe of those great subjects. Instead of doing so, and in support of the assumption above made, the reader is referred to *The Evolution of Decorative Art*, by Henry Balfour, 1893, and to *Evolution in Art*, by A. C. Haddon (Contemporary Science Series, 1895). On this subject we specially recommend a valuable article in *Good Words* for September, 1896, by A. E. Farman and G. Clarke Nuttall, entitled "The Lost Soul of Patterns." Many familiar devices are illustrated and accounted for in a most ingenious manner. All these modern writers deal exhaustively and convincingly with this branch of the question, with abundant illustration. We shall hope to show, however, that difficult as is the task of general identification of modern designs with their prototypes among primeval ones, yet in the vast majority of cases which can certainly be proved to be the

survivals of ancient forms, the original picture or object had a very distinctive use, and was worn, or depicted, or sculptured, so as continually to act as a preventive of the ever-dreaded evil against which all magic was primarily directed.

Reasoning then from the known to the unknown, it may, without presumption, be maintained that in their incidence all ornament and all decoration had their ultimate purpose in the supposed prophylactic power of the subject delineated, or perhaps of the object on which the decoration was placed. The ornamentation itself in the first place was intended to help in attracting the eye, and so to divert the first glance from the wearer of the decoration—for the danger was past after that.

All ornament and all disfigurement naturally appeal to the eye alone, and so far as personal decoration is concerned experience convinces us that in every age, whether ancient or modern, the head has among mankind ever been the object of both honour and dishonour; the part on which his taste for ornament has been first displayed. The crown, the distinctive sign of glory, of honour, and of kingly power, or the wreath of victory, just as much as the ashes of mourning and the fool's cap, are placed upon the head, the recognised seat of both intelligence and folly. Besides its manifold use in a literal sense, the head is constantly taken to represent the entire individual. Not only was succour of an enemy declared

Ishtar?

to be heaping coals of fire on his head, but in many other ways the head is used figuratively in Scripture; while in modern literature its use has grown and developed to a degree quite extraordinary to those who have not examined the recent marshalling of evidence.¹

Nature has adorned the head of the most familiar of our domestic birds with the *crista*, that distinguishing excrescence which surely first impressed its form upon the head-gear of ancient Greek heroes; while in later times it gave its name to the figure or device worn upon the helmet of a knight in the days of chivalry, and has thence come down to us as a well-known term in heraldry. The various objects we now call crests were, in the Middle Ages, very differently regarded by those who wore them as compared with what they are to-day. Then they were worn as ensigns of high distinction and honour, and especially of personal prowess, so that their use was restricted to a comparatively few persons of eminence and of martial renown; but in these later times "crests" have become just as common and just

¹ The immense importance it has acquired as an expressive prefix, and the endless uses in which the word *head* enters into our everyday speech, can best be understood by a study of the many pages devoted to it in the new *Historical English Dictionary*.

² The question as to whether the domestic cock existed in Europe in very early times is beyond the range of our subject. The fact, however, that a store of legend and tradition had grown up around it in Pliny's time, proves it to have been familiar in ages quite remote enough for our purpose.

as valueless as the paper on which they are stamped; while they are of as little real significance as the modern term "esquire"; until at last they have often sunk to be the mere fanciful and fantastic ornaments of the vulgar, the ignorant, and the *nouveau riche*.

The origin of crests, however, takes us far behind their name, far behind even the beginnings of the Latin tongue which gave rise to it. The crest usually depicted upon the head of Greek heroes, we see at a glance, is but a conventionalised imitation of the *Crista Galli*, showing that the idea in their day was precisely the same as that which survived until the Middle Ages, an idea which grew and became so modified, or developed by widespread use and fancy, that at last any distinctive ornament on a knight's head took the name of that appendage, and became his crest.

The head-dress here depicted (Fig. 1) is only one of several similar upon a sarcophagus in the British Museum, recently brought from Clazomenæ,³ in Asia Minor, and represents a Greek warrior of the seventh century B.C. The crest is here so exaggerated as to be even more important and conspicuous than the helmet itself, but we see in it the same type

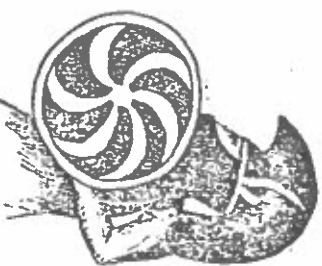


FIG. 1.

³ Mr. GARDNER writes in *Authority and Archaeology*, 1899, p. 268, that this magnificent sarcophagus is "the finest of all examples of early Ionic painting."

which we recognise as the well-known, conventional one for heroes upon Greek vases.⁴ Other special points in this illustration will be referred to later on.

We have here also a rough sketch (Fig. 2) of a Roman cavalry soldier from the engravings of Montfaucon, showing the conventional as well as the



FIG. 2.

the modern dragon, no less than that of the civilian fireman, and is even found somewhat belittled on the less civil policeman. This crest still perpetuates, in the shape of a concrete ornament, the old idea of victory, "Cock county," "Cock of the walk," "Cock of the school"; and more figuratively also in the literary cockscorn. We see it, too, in him who by his rank or profession wears a cockade, or a cocked hat, or in one who struts and assumes the

⁴ Excellent examples of this exaggerated crest, though without the horns, will be found in O. Jahn's *Über Darst. Griech. Dicht. auf Vasen-bildern*, in *Ab. d. Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 8r B., Leipzig, 1861; also in Sittl's *Gebärden d. Gr. u. Röm.*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 321.

victorious air of the ideal cockscorn. We all know the attitude of many a bird during his song, particularly the lark, which has been so well described⁵ as the "raising of the ornamental plumes during courtship." The fact that natural instinct prompts birds to erect their crest as a sign of conquest, or at least of challenge, seems to point curiously to the same instinct in mankind, whether savage or cultured—he mounts a plume of feathers or a bunch of hair on his head in token of triumph. For example, in New Guinea a tuft of white feathers is mounted upon the head of the warrior who has killed a man.⁶ (While in the press Mr. Seligman has kindly furnished the following interesting details as to Papuan head-gear:—

"Distinctions worn for killing a person :

Sepe—White shell forehead-band.

Karai—White cockatoo plumes worn in the hair.

Bina—Upper mandible of *Toucan* worn on the head.

This is only worn by a man who has taken life in single combat. (*Toucan* should be hornbill.—

C. G. S.)

Tiabe—Plumes of *Paradisæa Raggiana* worn on the head.

Representations of the head of a murdered man or woman, or of their private parts, are often carved on clubs by the murderer.")

⁵ DARWIN, *Expression of the Emotions*, 1872, chap. iv.

⁶ C. G. Seligman at British Association at Dover, 1899, member of the "Expedition under A. C. Haddon to Torres Straits."

Papuan
murderer +
mixed plume
for murder
for murder

The reader is asked here to note the bird's beak to imitate a horn on the head of the victor at Bina.

Compare with the above the cockades, plumes, and other ornaments worn on their heads by all soldiers in full "war paint," whether officers or privates.

Long before the Romans, or even the Greeks, of history, we have shown, elsewhere, a more or less elaborate head adornment to have been the distinguishing mark of the Egyptian gods and goddesses; just as the kind of crest worn by an armoured knight in days of chivalry was usually intended to denote some trait in his character, some ideal he was pursuing, or to symbolise some event in his career; so in the earlier days of Egyptian history the devices placed upon the heads of deities were the symbols of what were believed to be their distinctive attributes; and we submit with all confidence that it was certainly the survival of the same notion that crested the gods, which caused, in crusading days, the device to be mounted upon a knight's helmet. The notion had of course come down to chivalry, through a long succession of ages, and of peoples, all mounting "crests" upon their fighting men.

Certain ornamental devices worn upon the head became in course of time identified with certain great offices, civil as well as military, and, without waiting to dwell upon the several steps of the development, it is easy to see how various caps of office or dignity, such,

¹ See *Evil Eye*, p. 180 et seq.

for instance, as the mitre, and, still more, that very composite head-dress we now call a crown, came to be the distinguishing mark of the chief priest, of the victor, and so of the king (the man who can, and the man who kens). In later times, when feudal lords arose, who were really little kings, there was devised for them an inferior badge, a head-dress of similar type and intent, but denoting their lesser rule—the coronet.

The greatest of the gods in every mythology have been personifications of the most conspicuous heavenly bodies—the sun and moon.² These were the visible sources of life and heat, and, even in the face of Sir Norman Lockyer, we venture to maintain that to them, and not to Sirius, was the highest worship accorded by all nations. One and all looked upon them as living; and, in their chief attributes, they were both regarded mainly as beneficent beings. For our immediate purpose it will be most convenient to confine ourselves to the gods of Egypt and to those of later ages which we can identify with them, for, without going further back, we must start with the premiss that so much of the religious systems now existing in Europe as cannot be clearly shown to be

² If this statement be challenged, we will leave experts to decide the question as to whether animals and the forces of nature upon earth were not the first to be worshipped. Probably they were, for primitive man was always more inclined to propitiate the powers he knew best, and most dreaded, by his worship or sacrifice, than to show gratitude to those from whence he believed his good things to come.

primæval, indigenous (if we may use the word) in the genus *homo*, has, in a very large measure, descended to us from EGYPT, thence passing through the various modifications of Greek and Roman paganism, yet at the same time deeply influenced by much Oriental belief and practice, brought to bear upon and through the Jews.

From this point of view, with all reverence, we look upon Christianity as a great reform, in fact a mighty revolution. What was true or valuable in the ancient systems was retained, adapted, and purified; while the grosser part was cast aside. The sun was considered by the ancients as the father, the giver and protector of life. And we cannot fail to see that this notion of generation and protection is well symbolised by the psalmist when he declares "The Lord God is a sun and shield." (Psalm lxxxiv. 11.)

In all ages and by all people we find the sun, however rudely pictured, to be the symbol of the highest divinity; later on we shall show how, in the special device known as the wheel-cross, it has been preserved through long ages of paganism down to the Christianity of to-day, as a sign to denote the mighty and Godhead of each person of the Blessed Trinity. The moon having been looked upon, at least by the Aryan stock, as the mother of the gods and men, was naturally regarded as the great and beneficent protector of her progeny; consequently, as we should expect, so do we find, that the symbol of her personi-

fication is distinguished by the most remarkable of her visible forms, the crescent. This well-known symbol, being placed as a cognisance or crest upon her head, has in all ages denoted the universal, the Celestial Mother, or perhaps rather the type of motherhood, whether known of old as Ishar, Isis, Artemis, Diana, or, as at present, Madonna.

The crescent upon it, when viewed from the front, gives to the head an appearance of having the horns of a short-horned cow, and from its being so placed upon all moon-gods and goddesses,¹ the crescent has got the name of the horned moon. Upon this point enough has been said elsewhere in connection with Hera-Id, who gave her name to the Bosporus—the passage of the cow. Later on we see that this notion had taken such hold that, instead of the points of a crescent being placed upon the head, we find a natural, realistic treatment: the horns of animals, mostly cows, were placed upon the head, and at last bovine horns themselves, in the concrete (not merely the crescent), became the badge or crest of the moon goddess. Thence it has survived in these Christian days as the symbol of the most compassionate and loving, as well as the most powerful of female beings, of her who in these latter days bears the old-world title Mater Dei.² We shall also show that this badge

¹ On this see *Evil Eye*, p. 182.

² Compare especially all Murillo's pictures of the Assumption at Madrid, of which the Louvre example is a fair type.

Sum
high
body
?



was by no means confined to goddesses in pagan times, but that it distinguished gods as well, and thus explains the expression "Moon gods and goddesses" used above.

Hence, bearing in mind that this godlike crest, at first the emblem only of a powerful deity, came to be looked upon as something in itself that would be effectual and thus the crescent was considered to be, and was used by men as a protective amulet, thereby becoming a constant appeal for safety to the gods it represented, we submit that in course of time bovine horns, the outcome of the crescent, developed into a special mark of honour and dignity, which men adopted for their own distinction, as well as the symbol of the most potent protectors.

No less a writer than Coleridge (*Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 120) says, "No one has yet discovered even a plausible origin for this symbolism as to horns"; but with all deference to so distinguished an author, it is at least suggested that what we have shown to be the distinguishing badge of the highest of the gods, may well have been adopted in times past as the peculiar sign applicable to mark those among men entitled to great distinction. Reflecting, too, that even Roman emperors were deified after their death, it is going but little further to maintain that godlike symbols were applied to them while still living. The real difficulty, which we cannot get over with certainty, is how a badge, which at first appears to have denoted

a female, came to be applied to males as well; moreover, as time went on, we find in later Roman days, the symbol when applied to a female, reverted to the primitive-crescent, while the development of the horned moon, which had grown into the resemblance of the natural horns of various animals, became applied exclusively to males. It may be remarked, however, that inasmuch as very many of the symbols of classic times came from Egypt and that the cow had become that of Isis in her form Hathor, so we know that the bulls Apis and Mnevis represented her consort, the supreme god Osiris; and therefore we may take it that on male personages horns typify Osiris, or the sun, while on females they refer to Isis, or the moon. Allowing, too, for the confusion which seems to be inseparable from all mythologies, we see how at least the idea came to Greece and Rome which led to their placing horns upon the head of Zeus-Jupiter, as well as the thunderbolt in his hand. In *The Dawn of Civilisation*, pp. 662-3, "we see first Ramman, the great god of the Chaldeans, depicted as holding an axe in his hand, while over his head are his symbols, the sun and moon, which seem to have both been attributed to him, inasmuch as we are told that he had acquired in popular belief the powers of both the gods, whom they once separately represented. (p. 661.)

Next we see Ramman with the axe in one hand,

"MASPERO and SAYCE, 1894. S.P.C.K.

and the thunderbolt, evidently the same as the classic," in the other, while on his head are two pairs of horns, which again we will conclude to represent the double powers assumed, just as in later times the typical double crown represented rule over upper and lower Egypt. We venture to pursue the analogy further, and to point out that the triple crown always given to the Pope is but the outcome of the self-same idea.

Isis was commonly depicted with the long horns of an Egyptian cow, so also was she in her Greek form Hera,¹³ and while the Roman Diana had gone back to the undeveloped crescent, so has her direct descendant still regnant. Hermes (Mercury) is said to have placed cow's horns upon the head of Isis,¹⁴ and thereby we can see the close connection between her and the sacred cow of the East, which having swum across the Bosphorus (the passage of the cow) became Io or Hera, the moon goddess of the Greeks. We learn from good authorities, both ancient and modern, that the cow horns of Io-Hera were derived from the symbolic horns of the crescent moon,¹⁵ and left her badge upon Byzantium, the same crescent which still distinguishes the conquering Turk.¹⁶ The

¹³ On p. 541 is Bel Merodach, with a thunderbolt in each hand, fighting with a griffin, i.e., the power of evil. Professor DRIVER, in *Authority and Archaeology*, writes this god as Marduk (p. 122 et al.).

¹⁴ See SCHLIEHMANN, *Mycene and Tiryns*, p. 216, etc.

¹⁵ PIONOKIUS, *Vet. Tab.*, p. 16. ¹⁶ See *Evil Egypt*, p. 183.

¹⁶ On "The Cow-shaped Hera" see SCHLIEHMANN, *Micæ*, p. 284 et seq.

unchallenged assumption among all the Latin races that the moon is feminine and the sun masculine, has not been always so. Among Teutonic people we find a trace of their descent from a different stock by their usage in this particular. Modern Germans, it must be remembered, speak of *die Sonne* and *der Mond*, while curiously we find the same genders ascribed to each among the Australian aborigines. We may remark in passing, that a coincidence in people so far separated may fairly be said to be one of those minor facts which go to support the evidence of a common ancestry. In any case it proves that in primitive days people did not all think the moon a woman, or that the crescent was suitable only for female wear." Even among the Egyptians this was certainly the case, for we find several male deities, such as *Thoth* and *Chonsu*, wearing the crescent as a crest. Further, one of the very oldest of the gods, *Chemnu*, the "Moulder," is represented with the head of a ram, having very distinct ram's horns on the side of his head, while besides these he has wide-spreading cow's horns as part of his very elaborate crest.

Thus we repeat as to horns in very early days, that those of the moon developed into cows' upon females and the horns of the bull Apis upon males; while those of the ram, the symbol of prolific paternity, were placed in addition as distinctive

¹⁷ In all the Scandinavian tongues, like the Teutonic, the moon is masculine and sun feminine.

RAM

marks upon the heads of the greatest and most powerful of the deities. In support of this contention, as against the suggestion that the converse may have been the case and that the bull's horns may first have been placed on man's head as in the *Minoan*, we would point to the very archaic figures discovered at Mycenae, two of which are given elsewhere* from the writer's own drawings, made from the originals in the Athens Museum. Several others are given in Schliemann's book."

These are undoubtedly female figures, and the crescent instead of being on the head is the body itself, from which the neck and head rise up, thus indicating that the entire figure is a personification of the moon. Other figures of the same kind (of which the writer possesses one found in Cyprus) have the body circular, thus representing the moon, still unmistakably female, at the full.

Whether the moon's horns were first placed on male or female gods, very little affects the main question under discussion.

The confusions in mythology are infinite.

It seems, then, easy to understand how, as before suggested, that horns, the symbols which we have shown to denote the highest power and dignity in the gods, came in course of time to be looked upon as suitable for a mark of honour also upon victorious man.

* See *Evil Eye*, p. 183.

" *Mycenae and Tiryns*, Plates A, B, C.

Our head of Jupiter (Fig. 3) is from an ancient gem, and may be fairly taken as a typical representation of the god. Many examples exist of



Fig. 3.

the horn of Ammon, the rays of Phœbus, show him to combine in his own person the powers of all three. Each of these attributes represent the sun-god at a different season of the year.

The corn measure or modius is often called the Calathus or flower-basket, but the idea of ripe vegetation is the same in both. It is placed on his head as the type of the highest of his benefits, and is said by Macrobius* to represent "the height of the planet above us and his all-powerful capaciousness, since unto him all things earthly return, being drawn up by the heat that he emits."

The god's own description of himself to Nioreon, king of Cyprus, was—

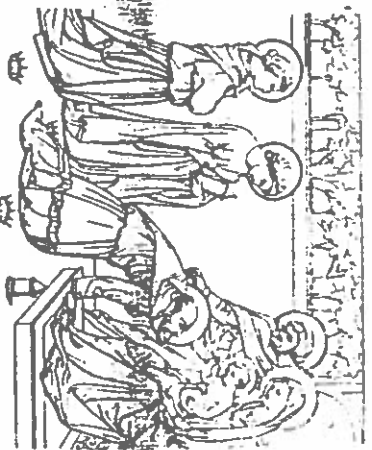
* KING, *Handbook of Gems*, p. 366.

"A god I am, such as I show to thee,
The starry heavens my head, my trunk the sea;
Earth forms my feet, mine ears the air supplies,
The sun's far-darting brilliant rays mine eyes." 21

The daring rays are nearly always present in these portraits of the king of the gods; and in them we cannot fail to see not merely the germ but the fact, and hence the significance of the many upright points always shown on the typical crown upon the head of King David in Scripture story books.



Andrea di Salerno, 1480. Rosini, v. 84.
FIG. 4.



Lorenzo Monaco, Rosini, ii. p. 160.

FIG. 5.

Again we see the same simple crown made up of spear-shaped rays upon the head of the Virgin Mother in a lovely

"King, *Gnositi*, p. 65. Cf. also account of the introduction of the worship of Serapis and Isis from Alexandria, *Evil Eye*, p. 302.

picture of the older Umbrian school. (Fig. 6.) We have to refer again to this illustration later on. The rays and horn combined on Jupiter (Fig. 3)



Mino Savazzi, 1487, from Rosini, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, vol. I, p. 133.

FIG. 6.

explain to us likewise the meaning of the erect *panache* upon the knight and Indian chief, of whom we have yet to speak.

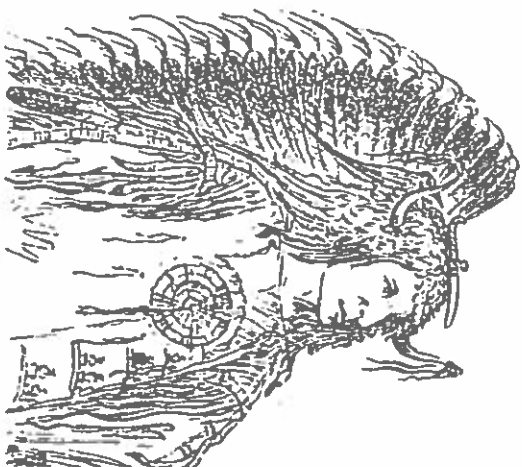
Jupiter Serapis is nearly always represented on coins and gems with the curled horns of Ammon,

reminding us very much of the spiral gold ornaments worn to-day by Dutch peasant women, and obviously showing by their conventional curl whence the common fossil

upon the gods of Egypt, so in many Roman statues we find horns upon the head of both male and female figures. Juno Sospita is twice represented by statues in the Vatican Museum with the skin and horns of a goat on her head," precisely in the same position as those of a bison, to be seen on many North American chiefs, such as Mahtawopah, of the Blackfoot Petoh-

²¹ On *panache*, see *poet*, p. 35.

²² Also in MONTAUCON, Vol. i, Pl. 13, Nos. 16-19.



Matawopah, Catlin, vol. I, p. 246.

FIG. 7.

ence in civilisation? At Durban the Kaffir *rickshaw* men wear horns upon their heads.²⁴

Montfaucon gives two Muses horned.²⁵ Mercury is frequently shown with wings like horns on his head,²⁶ but about these there is more to be said. On the one hand in



Tetoh-peckia, Blackfoot, Catlin, vol. I, p. 24.

FIG. 8.

²⁴ H. Balfour, lately returned, September, 1899.

²⁵ Vol. I, Pl. 31, Nos. 4, 5.

²⁶ Vol. I, Pl. 36, 37.

Chapter IV, Mercury is shown distinctly horned. In another case he is shown with a crescent on his head between the wings, thus forming a sort of complex panoply reminding us much of Egyptian combinations. Diana appears repeatedly in the pages of Montfaucon with the crescent so posed as to appear like the horns of a cow.²⁷

Racchus (Dionysos) is commonly shown with horns, indeed, Horace calls him 'Bicorniger.'

The writer possesses a terra-cotta head of Dionysos found at Taranto: on this may be seen two horns as of a young bull, very similar to those on Michael Angelo's Moses. This head was a pre-affix to the beam projecting from a Greek house, on which we have more to say later.

The cult of Dionysos was practised and held in the highest esteem at ancient Tarentum. The principal temple there was dedicated to him. In Chapter V, wherein we deal with a remarkable find at Taranto, Dionysos is very largely represented.

These facts are mentioned to prove the familiarity of people in classic times with the notion of human heads having, or seeming to have, horns growing on them.

The very frequent references in Scripture to the lifting up or to the cutting off of horns have, so far as the present writer is aware, been dealt with slightly and unsatisfactorily; while the very number of allu-

²⁷ Vol. I, Pl. 44, 45, etc.

²⁸ MONTFAUCON, Vol. I, Pl. 75.

Diana
+
horns

IMP

sions to horns in the Scriptures, whether figurative or literal, testify to the importance of the subject.

Much has been written upon the horns which tradition gives to Moses. A very learned commentator²² gives a long list of authorities *Mosem cornutum exhibentes, i.e.,* showing him as actually horned; and upon the passage Deuteronomy xxxiii. 17, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock," and his horns like the horns of unicorns,"²³ he remarks, "*Corum potentie symbolum fuisse norunt omnes, i.e.,* all people have understood the horn to be the symbol of power.

The Israelites were, of course, quite familiar with horns upon the heads of the gods of Egypt, and fresh from the land of bondage they would readily believe that their great law-giver had become divine, that he had miraculously received the mark of divinity and of kindly power. The belief that Moses actually descended with solid horns upon his head was devoutly held, and has continued to be believed down to the Middle Ages. Even later, the learned Grotius says that the god Mnevis (always represented with horns),²⁴ who was worshipped among the Egyptians, is

²² ZARNIUS, *Pistholl. Antiq.* i., p. 121.

²³ Vulgate, "Rhinocerotis."

²⁴ "Tauro primogeniti."

²⁵ The frontispiece to the writer's copy of Delrio's *De Magia*, 1603, shows Moses with conspicuous horns, when with Aaron he is standing before the Almighty, and also in eight other of the scenes representing the plagues of Egypt; in every case before the Exodus, and long before his descent from the Mount. Torrelanca's *De Magia* has a frontispiece showing the same scenes though differently treated. In each, Moses has horns distinctly portrayed. These curious anachronisms do but support the evidence of the belief in actual concrete horns.

believed to be no other than Moses himself. Mnevis was the sacred bull of Heliopolis, as Apis was that of Memphis. Spannheim lends his great authority to this by quoting Grotius, and supports it by adding that Aben Esdra himself believed the same. He says, too, that St. Jerome held fast the belief in actual horns on the head of Moses, and he (Spannheim) makes his remarks seem all the more probable, in finishing what was the belief of the Israelites, in the production of numerous coins bearing horned heads both bearded and beardless. A

Greek one of Agrina in Sicily has a horned head, here produced (Fig. 9), which may be either male or



Spannheim.
Fig. 9.



Gela.



Fig. 10.

female, but looks most like a woman; another of Gela (Fig. 10) has an undoubted female face. On the reverse of both these coins is a minotaur, in each case almost precisely like a large relief from Nimroud, called a "man-headed bull," to be seen in the British Museum, on the wall opposite to the great winged bulls. Another coin, almost identical, is given by Montfaucon (iii. 120). Yet another of Megara, alike in character,

is given by Spannheim," and still another of Catania, by Mr. A. J. Evans, in *Freeman's Sicily*, vol. iv. Besides these we have abundant evidence of horned heads amongst the Greeks and Romans.

Fig. 11 represents two out of a procession of ancient Greek soldiers upon a fragment of a vase found at Mycenæ. On these Schliemann remarks: "From

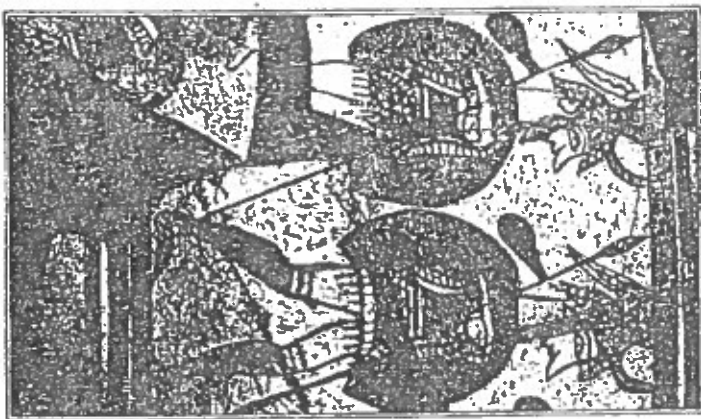


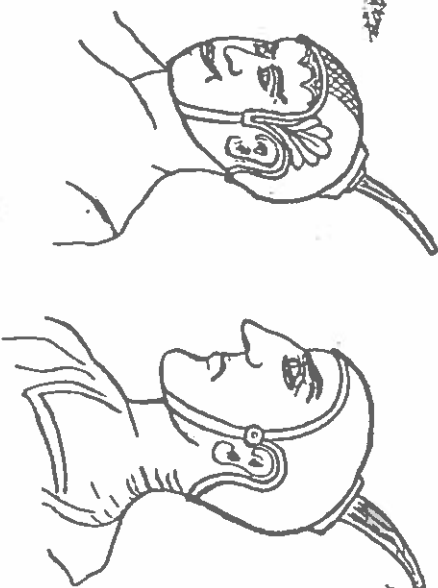
FIG. 11.

the fore part of the helmet rises a long and very curious object, which forms a curve, and is much like a horn. It is altogether inexplicable to me what it can have been used for, and there is no record in Homer which might be interpreted so as to indicate its existence on the Homeric helmet." With all deference to so great an authority, it is submitted that we have abundant evidence of what it was. These figures are crudely drawn in profile, and except that

" *Disert*, viii. p. 392.

" *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, p. 133.

the shield is smaller and differently shaped, we see almost the same soldier reproduced in Fig. 18, p. 34, from Mr. Leaf's *Homer*. The single horn in profile is intended to represent the pair of horns shown on the front view. Probably this is indicated by the two lines by which each is depicted. This



Soldi from Montaucon.
FIG. 12.

explanation is confirmed by a golden ornament found at the same place, representing two men (? soldiers), full-face, each having two horns on his head."

The *Salli* (Fig. 12), called also "*Flamines martiales*," priests of Mars, in ancient Rome, wore a very remarkable spike or horn upon their heads, which was called *asper*. It is suggestive of, and in some respects like, the favourite *pickel* upon the helmet of German

" SCHLIEHMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

and our own soldiers of to-day, and thus we prove the very self-same idea to have prevailed in both ancient and modern times.

To show how very important this apex was considered, we are told that the *Salin* took great care lest by any chance their cap should fall from their head, and thereby their horn of office should be brought low, and so dishonoured. A certain Sulpicius was deprived of his priesthood because his apex fell from his head while performing his service.²⁶ *The cap, of the Flamines was called albugalerus; they always wore it, and were not permitted to leave the house without it.* We note this single horn, though it seems to tell against the explanation of the single one shown on the Greek soldiers on the Mycenaean vase. We are however, only concerned with facts, and must not omit those we cannot explain.

Returning to Moses, it has been said by various modern writers that it is absurd and ridiculous to represent him as in the famous statue by Michael Angelo (of which a copy is to be seen at South Kensington). We are told that the idea arose from the error of the Vulgate translators of Exodus xxxiv. 29, where it is stated: "*Quod cornula esset facies sua ex consortio sermonis Domini.*" The A.V. is quite silent on this, but the R.V. has

²⁶ "Hi, ut firmius consisteret, illum sub mento duabus hinc et inde vitis constringebant. Sulpitio, inquit Valerius Maximus, Sacerdotium abrogatum fuit, quia sacrificanti apex de capite deciderat."

MONTRAVCON, ii. p. 39.

"horns" in the margin, and these are distinctly named in the Hebrew. "It came to pass . . . when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him." R.V. notes "shone—sent forth beams (Heb. horns)." Thus it is clear the Vulgate translation is not erroneous, but literal. Pignori (a well-known mediæval writer) says distinctly of Moses: "*Qui a congressu Domini Dei ornatum faciem cornutam referebat.*"²⁷

There is thus considerable variation between the A.V. and the Vulgate, but whether or not the translation given in the latter be right or wrong, the words used are the strongest possible evidence that the Latin translators were perfectly familiar with the tradition; while the abundance of statues and coins in their day, which they must have known full well, would prevent the notion appearing at all strange to them, even supposing they did not themselves devoutly believe it. The whole question turns upon whether the horns were supposed to be a miraculous growth, or a decorative ornament of honour and of glory. Later we show how the horns of Moses grew upon the mediæval mure, and how they remain there in modern ritual to this day.

Calmet distinctly asserts that the horn, so often mentioned in the Scriptures, was the symbol of

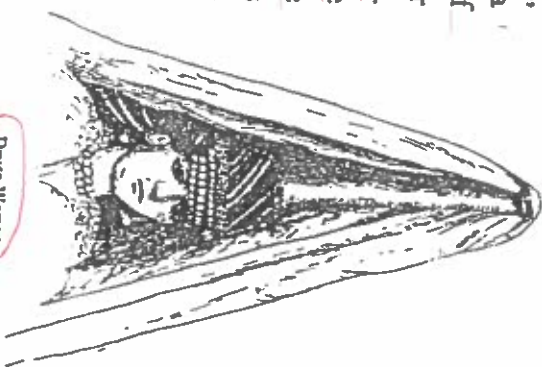
²⁷ A.V., Exodus xxxiv. 29.

²⁸ PIGNORIUS, *Vet. Tab.*, p. 16.
²⁹ See *pass.*, p. 76.

strength or power; and we can scarcely doubt but that the Jews so adopted it, and of course brought it with them from Egypt, where they had seen it upon the gods, both male and female. The expression: "All the horns of the wicked will I cut off; but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted," can hardly be called figurative in the light of our present knowledge as to the ancient notions of Eastern and Egyptian people. The many passages relating to exalting, cutting off, or breaking the horn refer to the same notion—that of doing honour or of degrading. Nor has the practice of exalting the horn by any means been confined to the Jews. Bishop Taylor, writing about 1796, says that he saw Sepoys in India wearing helmets of stout leather; they were oval, and nearly flat, like the trencher cups worn at our universities. In the centre rose a headpiece ornamented with feathers, etc., and on the front directly over the forehead was a steel horn, rising as it were from a short stem, and then assuming the form of one of our extinguishers. Remembering how ancient, how conservative are all Indian customs, we may well compare this with the horns of iron^a made by Zedekiah. We seem also to have a very near approach in this description to the spike worn upon their leather cap by the Salii and Flamines of old, but still more is the pattern preserved in the *pickelhaube* of the German soldier.

^a Vulg. "cornua ferrea," 1 Kings xxii. 11.

Again Prince, the African traveller, speaking of a cavalcade of the governors of provinces, says that each one, upon a broad fillet on the forehead, wore a horn or conical piece of silver gilt about four inches long, much in the shape of a candle extinguisher. This was called the *kirz*, or horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory, doubtless as a symbol of honour or triumph. Both of these descriptions as to extinguishers very strikingly remind one of the horned head-dress still worn, as the writer can testify, by the Jewesses of Tunis, much higher exalted on the matron than on the maid. So, too, the Druses of Lebanon, until recently, placed a horn upon the head of their women, longer or shorter, to mark the married who have borne children from the single or childless. Fig. 12a is from a photograph of one of these Druse women, bought by the writer in Beirut; illustrations are also given of them in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. 1863, p. 827, s.v. "Horn." These are mentioned by Thompson, *Land and the Book*, pp. 73, 74; but his remarks are



Druse Woman.
FIG. 12a.

not such as to add to our knowledge or to impress the reader with the author's accuracy. Judging from this book, one of the chief efforts of the missionary is to uproot ancient customs of all kinds, and to level up (?) all converts to their ideas of modern civilisation.

"Tu spem reducis mentibus anxia,
Viresque et addis cornua pauperi."

HOMER, *Odys.* III. xxi. 17.

Hannah
This was precisely the intention of Hannah, when she gave thanks for her son, and said: "Mine horn is exalted in the Lord." In considering the whole context of this remarkable passage we cannot fail to be struck with what follows: "My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies, because I rejoice in Thy salvation." The conjunction of "horn exalted," of "enemies" whom I dared not mock by the wide mouth when childless, and therefore unprotected, but "because I rejoice in (Thy) salvation" "I have no fear," is most marked. Only a certain kind of commentators would attempt to spiritualise this very literal thanksgiving of an Oriental mother for the greatest of honours proclaimed by the "horn exalted," and by the safety (salvation), for her and her offspring, against dreaded enemies, which its presence was devoutly believed to ensure.

Alexander the Great (B.C. 330) was called the "Two-horned,"* and we are told that "the most

* 1 Samuel ii. 1.

* E. WALLIS-BUDGE, *Life of Alexander the Great*, 1896, p. 46.

natural explanation of this title is obtained by assuming that one of the attributes of Amen-Râ has been applied to Alexander. As the legend makes Amen-Râ his father this assumption is a fair one. Darius III. addressed Alexander: "Behold it has reached me that thou, the Two-horned, hast assumed the sovereignty over Greece without my order . . . I will march out against thee," etc., etc. Among the Arabs various opinions as to the meaning of the epithet exist. Some say that Alexander was called "Two-horned" because of his expeditions to the East and West, and others because he had two curls of hair like horns on his forehead. Others again have supposed that the title has nothing to do with Alexander, and say that it belongs by right to a very ancient king of Yaman.

We venture to think that neither of these explanations is the correct one, but that it is to be looked for much nearer home and in a much simpler method. We show later that part of the regular panoply of a Greek warrior in the Homeric age, long before Alexander, was a helmet with two tall horns, and we shall show later that these horns continued to be borne by Greeks, Romans, Celts, Saxons, and Italians, down to a comparatively recent period, at least as late as the fourteenth century; therefore calling Alexander the "Two-horned," we suggest, was merely the equivalent of "Greek

* E. WALLIS-BUDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

soldier," for we may well assume that he would bear the distinctive national uniform, and the name therefore becomes just as simple as to call a modern English soldier a "redcoat." Throughout the legendary history above quoted, Alexander is spoken of as the "Two-horned." The helmets shown in the accompanying illustrations may well support the contention here advanced. Figs. 13, 14 are from the originals in the British Museum. They are Greco-Roman from Apulia, pronounced to be of the fourth century B.C. Fig. 15 is from the Naples Museum, and Fig. 16 from the Louvre. In both places are more of the same sort, and all are probably of about the same age or a little later.

As a military adornment the nations of old, Etruscans, Greeks, Belgæ, Saxons, all placed horns upon their helmets, in token of victory or defiance. Not only do we know this from pictures and traditions, but we have the very helmets

It has been objected that there is no evidence of the Macedonians wearing horned helmets. The famous portrait of Alexander at the battle of Issus in the great mosaic at Naples shows him without helmet; but inasmuch as we have plenty of horned Greek helmets in the concrete bronze of about the date of the Macedonian, and have besides the legend above cited, we must leave the question to be settled by experts.



Fig. 13.
Apulia.



Fig. 14.
Apulia.



Fig. 15.
Greek Helmets of Bronze.
Naples Museum and Louvre.



Fig. 16.

themselves, and they may be seen to-day in the museums of the Louvre, of Naples, and of London, from whence our sketches were respectively made. The small fork on some of these helmets reminds us that the ancients, like their modern descendants, were fond of pluming up their adornments; these doubtless were to support the plume, the *panache* of heraldry, as shown on Figs. 18, 19. Even in England the horned helmet was worn. Fig. 17 is from the original in the British Museum. It is of copper, and said to be ancient British, found in the Thames.

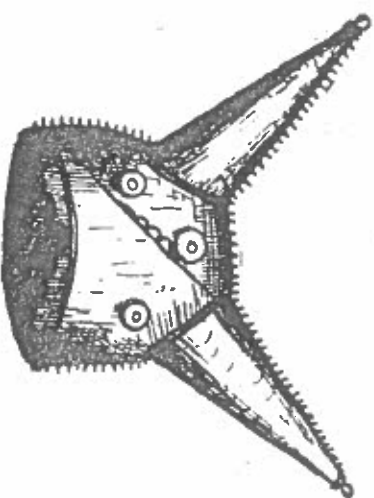
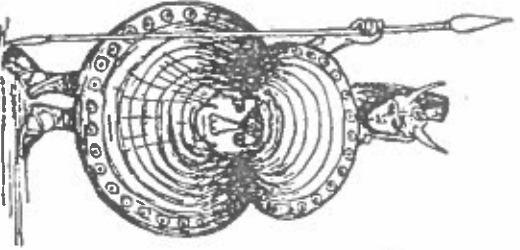


Fig. 17.

Not only did the gods *Chnemu* and *Osiris* wear horns on their heads, but they are depicted with plumes upon them as well; the plume of *Osiris* is well known.

It may be here remarked that perhaps the plume rather than the horn in these modern days, and over a wider area, has become the badge of triumph, of honour, and of defiance upon the head of a warrior, whether he belongs to the Bersaglieri of Italy, the cavalry of Germany or France, the Highlanders

of Scotland, or the field officers of England; but we have more to say on that point later on. The ancient feathers, indeed, are gone, but as may still be seen, upon these helmets of the old Greeks, the metal attachment for them remains. (See Figs. 13, 15.)



Greek Warrior, from Leaf's
Homer.
FIG. 18.

We give here a representation (Fig. 18), according to Mr. Leaf, of a Greek soldier of the Homeric period, in complete panoply of war, with the famous "round shield," which would be flattened out if it were flattened out." Here we see horns and plume as well. Comparison of this drawing with that of Marawopah (ante, Fig. 7) cannot but strike one with the strange analogy. Of a later date than this is the warrior from a sarcophagus (see Fig. 1) in the British Museum, from Clazomenæ⁴⁶ in Asia Minor of about 650 B.C. In addition to the horns, which are quite distinct—here, and on many of the figures depicted, we see the exaggerated crest or cockscornb before alluded to. The three lofty plumes forming the heraldic crest of our Prince of Wales are but a mere modern survival of an ancient object,

⁴⁶ For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Myres, in an address at the British Association (Section H) at Liverpool, 1897.

⁴⁷ Clazomenæ means "the screaming swans."—FRASER, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 121.

and in the light of what we have yet to say on the subject of panache we submit that the modern plumes above the motto *Ich Dien* are a distinct survival of what is illustrated by Fig. 19.

Almost every nation upon earth mounts a cockade of some kind upon the head of its fighting men. The soldiers of Magna Græcia, who wore the helmets depicted in Figs. 13-16 many centuries later than Homer, show us exactly what we would wish to describe, by merely supposing that each helmet had a central feather between the horns. In Fig. 19 we have



Bul. Arch. Nap.
Tav. XI.
FIG. 19.

another of them fully equipped—the horns in a very pronounced shape upon the helmet, while between them rises what we now understand by a cockade—a stiff, upright panache. Even the most savage warriors, everywhere from Klondike eastward to Kamtschatka, do up their hair into a sort of shock, erect upon the head, sometimes mixed with feathers like our old friend Matzowpah (Fig. 7), sometimes without; but we know the object itself to be but the complement, or the alternative of the horn of exaltation and of honour. The very cannibals, we were told by a traveller,⁴⁸ place an object on their heads like a cockscornb.

The well-known panache of heraldry is but a name for a particular kind of crest, and curiously we find

⁴⁸ WARD, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals*.

that in the days of chivalry *panache* got to be an alternative name for horns worn on the head, in fact a synonym.

Cotgrave translates *pennache de bœuf* as "a goodly pair of horns"; while Henry VI. cried out at Ivry, "Si vos cornettes vous manquent, ralez-vous à mon panache blanc, vous le trouverez au chemin de la victoire, et de l'honneur." Again, a French apothegm says, "Quand l'hypocrisie a perdu le masque de la honte, elle arbore le panache de l'orgueil." All will readily admit ^{the orgueil is a heraldic blazonry} that what has here been adduced sufficiently proves that horns and the *panache* are really one and the same, in fact are synonymous both in idea, in origin, and in purpose, whether borne by knights, common soldiers, or by savages.

Abundant evidence on this point is to be found in Catlin's *North American Indians*, where we see many portraits of chiefs, some with horns, as in our illustrations, some with a crown-shaped *panache* of feathers, and some with a combination of both.

In support of this contention it should be here noted that in Italian *tromba* (trumpet) is but another name for a horn, when used in the sense of a musical wind instrument. It means also a cornucopia, and a ram's horn; hence, by a little extension, we can understand how the *car* of Jupiter, as we are told, supplies the air; and thus a horn placed on the side of the

head becomes a conventional symbol of his power over that element. At the same time it denotes his chief attributes—the sun in his might, as *Aries* the progenitor, and also as the bull *Apis*. We must never forget that his very surname, *Serapis*, perpetuates this Egyptian faith in a triune god, first brought to Rome by the Ptolemies,⁴⁸ for it is but the contraction of the compound *Osiris-Apis*.

Having thus proved clearly that *rays* of the sun, horns, and the calathus, or corn measure, are distinct symbols of the greatest and highest of pagan divinities, we now venture to maintain that in them we have the elements from which has been developed all the superstructure of that singular adornment, the modern crown of our kings—the distinguishing badge of regal power—and we hope to prove that it takes but little imagination to trace out each of these objects in that very remarkable head-dress. We do not here pretend either of these components to be the foundation, but that they are simply added symbols, piled up, as is commonly done, upon other objects, such as the Cimaruta of Naples, or the Mano Pantea and Dischi Sacri dealt with in Chapters IV. and V. However much it may vary in design, in general shape, or in material, we always find in the modern crown certain conventional peculiarities which preserve its main features. Whether, as it is said,⁴⁹

⁴⁸ KING, *Gnostica*, p. 64.

⁴⁹ MONTFAUCON, IV. 105.

Corn
measure

crowns were invented by Janus or by Bacchus, there are remarkable family likenesses among them all.

In every example we have first a fillet or band by which it is made to fit the head, more or less ornamental according to fancy. This may fairly be said to represent the wreath or chaplet,³⁰ found alike upon statues of Diana of Ephesus, upon the winner of athletic games, upon the victorious general, and upon the eminent in civil worth. Indeed, corona (στεφανος) in itself signifies a circular band of metal, as well as a wreath of leaves or flowers; and thus we shall see that the name crown, which at first was merely that of the foundation,³¹ has developed at last into the term for the entire structure.

In classic days the chaplet, the crown proper, had various names, shapes, and materials, but all preserving the main idea of a circular adornment for the head. We venture here to summarise them. Among the Romans, the highest in dignity, the richest in honour, the most coveted, was the corona obsidionalis, made from the poorest of materials, such as grass, weeds, or wild flowers, and reserved for the general who had successfully relieved a beleaguered city. The corona civica, of oak leaves, was next in honour, and was the reward of the soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen in battle. Next were the corona

rostrata and corona navalis, for him who had first boarded a hostile ship, and for the commander who destroyed a fleet, hence the corona rostrata was ornamented with a rostrum. The corona muralis belonged to him who first scaled the wall of a besieged city, and so the chaplet was battlemented; the corona castrensis to him who first forced entrance into the enemy's camp. Corona triumphalis was that of the triumphant general, while corona ovalis, of myrtle, was the reward of a merely successful commander. There was also the corona oleagina, of olive, for brave soldiers, which we may take to be the prototype of modern military decoration.³²

Besides all these, the priests wore the corona sacerdotalis peculiar to their office. Corona funebris was a wreath placed upon the bier, not worn at all; whence, of course, our modern fashion, now at last so overdone as to become a nuisance, and hence a new fashion has arisen of advertising "no flowers" along with the notice of the death. The corona nuptialis, convivialis, natalicia, each denote their own object, and each had its own special materials, though all retaining the original wreath-like form. These latter, like the corona funebris, were not for personal wear, but were suspended over the doors as signs of mourning or festivity.³³ The extravagance to which the corona

³⁰ See SMITH'S *Dict.*, *cit. s.v.*, "Phaleræ," for further information on this subject.

³¹ Examples of all are given in MONTFAUCON, *iv.* p. 103, and in SEEVER'S *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

³² See H. E. D., *s.v.* "Chaplet."

³³ On this subject consult the article "Diadem" in SMITH'S *Dict. of Antiq.*

Lower
bands of
crowns

funeris may be carried is to be seen to-day in modern Italy. Huge structures in the shape of a horse-collar, made of palm branches, with flowers and other greenery, of eight or nine feet high, are borne along the streets, requiring always two, sometimes three men to carry them. One of these is hung up in front of the house for the very short time, before the dead



Camillos and Brennae.
Perino del Vaga, Genoese School, c. 1535.

FIG. 20.

is brought out; then, if not too enormous, it is laid on the ~~top~~ ^{of the} ~~coffin~~ ^{coffin} empty, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~hearse~~ ^{hearse} following the hearse.

In royal crowns rising from the diadem or chaplet, that is the *corona* proper, we find many devices, all more or less as typical again bearing evidence of inspiration from classic *corona*. In older crowns, such as are usually seen on the heads of kings of Israel (see Figs. 4, 5), there is a fringe of upright spikes, rising from the chaplet, which any candid witness will admit to perpetuate the rays on the head of Serapis. (See Fig. 3.) In

Rosini's *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, Pisa, 1848, may be found a great variety of these crowns, as displayed in Art by the great masters of Italy, showing distinctly the features to which we refer. In one especially, (vol. v. p. 192), in a picture by Perino del Vaga (Fig. 20), the king is represented wearing a crown composed of a simple band of metal, from which, long spikes curve over the head. *En passant*, we call attention to the helmet of the general, which anyone can recognise as very like that now adorning P.-C. X. 248. Again, in vol. iv. p. 234, a picture by Raphael (Fig. 21), of "Joseph before Pharaoh," shows the king with a simple crown of the same kind, but with a ring of straight rays or spikes rising from the metal chaplet. The difference is that del Vaga makes his rays curve inwards so as surely to indicate not only rays but also horns, as we shall prove immediately.



Raphael.
FIG. 21.

Compare these with the Virgin's crown

in Fig. 6 and with the crown by Giotto (Fig. 22). The plain spear-shaped rays upon her head, in the picture by Mino Senese, have been conventionalised by Giotto and other masters into *fleurs de lis*, crosses, and similar fancies, but each of these fancy devices we can trace to its antetype in one or other of the various crowns of Rome

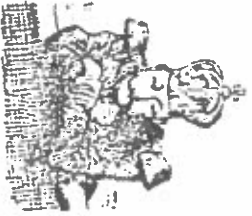


Giotto—Raschi, II. 109.

FIG. 22.

that we have described, while yet preserving the general contour, and above all conserving the original idea of the sun's rays.

Next we find the curving, arching, bending objects in the conventional modern crown typified by del Vaga in the bending of the spikes (see Fig. 20), which can have no meaning at all in the form so familiar to us, unless they are a survival, and so represent the horns with which we are now dealing. In support of this contention, we produce an example that clearly shows what we mean, and is, moreover, modern of the modern. Fig. 22a is taken from Tenniel's famous



Kaiser Wilhelm.
Fig. 22a.

cartoon, "Dropping the Pilot," published in *Punch*, March 29th, 1890, and reproduced in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for August, 1899. From Kaiser Wilhelm's crown proper rise six bent bands of metal, any pair of which fairly represents the pair of horns upon the Greek soldier (Fig. 19), or the helmet (Fig. 14). The rays on the chaplet

are in their usual place, while each pair of horns is merely lengthened so as to meet in the centre to form a support for the supreme ornament, the ball and cross. Other good examples may be seen in the large cartoon by Sambourne, "The Roll of Fame, 1800-1900," published with *Punch's Almanack* for 1900. We submit, then, that these curving bands rising from the chaplet in our regal crown of to-day are proved

to be horns, and therefore may be taken to signify the power and dignity of the wearer.

Lastly, we have the central ornament, of which there appears no sign in the previous illustrations until this last. It was often reduced to a mere button upon



Bonelli, v. 490—Bonifazio.
Fig. 23.

the velvet cap, especially in the crowns of the Middle Ages, like that shown in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 23). Even here, however, we shall notice an indication of the horns. This central ornament, however, in later days grew, and assumed a new and more conspicuous form; it was the meeting-point of the arching

horns, and it has at last, in our modern royal crown, grown and blossomed out from a bud or button into a full-blown orb and cross, like that on the head of the Kaiser (Fig. 22a). Certainly a very suitable crest for the adornment of the royal head. In another place* we have proved that this orb and cross are none other than the ancient *crux ansata*, the symbol of life to Egyptian kings, the astronomical sign of Venus Aphrodite, and a very potent protector against evil. The button finial of the sixteenth century, now in these latter days developed into the elaborate orb and cross, is, we maintain, no other than a survival of the calathus upon the head of

* *Evil/Ey*, p. 288.

Jupiter-Serapis, on which we have already remarked. Hence, reduced to its component elements, we repeat, a modern kindly crown is but the symbolic representative (possibly unintentional) of the ancient attributes of the king of gods. We even venture to go further and at least to suggest a reason for the development of the *calathus* into the more ornamental ball surmounted by the Maltese cross. In itself, the *excruciale* is *par excellence* the cross of Ammon or Serapis; and thus its own proper place, as an attribute of his power, can surely be nowhere so fitting as to be set up for a terminal ornament on the modern crown of our ancient kings.

A signet of Francis I., Duke of Brittany,⁵⁶ about 1444, bearing his effigy, represents him with a crown, above which two long ears project so as to give the appearance of horns, and yet these are by no means asses' ears. On the contrary, we shall produce evidence to show that they are curious links in the chain preserving the idea of the horn-like ears of Serapis, through the late Roman Mercury before mentioned, down to a quite comparatively recent period of chivalry, as the badge of a victorious ruler. We have seen other instances of ears so prolonged upon distinguished heads as to look like horns. So, too, we see plumes almost conventionalised into horns upon the head of Osiris and on the crest of the Prince of Wales; and further, we would point to

⁵⁶ KING, *Handbook of Gems*, p. 128.

the strange indentations in the bronze horns on Fig. 13, and suggest that therein we see an attempt to indicate feathers, and if this be so the identity of horns and *panache*, even in ancient days, is amply demonstrated.

To Italians, however, as the successors of the old Serapis worshippers, we must go for examples of the continued use of the horn of honour and exaltation in unmistakable plainness.

It is curious to find that among the many thousands of tourists who have visited the cathedral of San Gennaro at Naples, all have been so apparently wrapped up in the miracle of the liquefaction of the blood as never to have noticed what, to this writer, is by far the most interesting object in the whole building. No doubt it is thus neglected, because neither the Murrays, the Baedekers, the Hares, nor any other of the compilers of guide books have, so far as we know, ever had eyes to see it, for the reason that it is to them overshadowed by more attractive and popular objects.

One of the side chapels—that on the right of the high altar—belongs to the Minutoli family, and contains two pictures, said to be by Giotto in the worship Giotto and Simone (Memmi) Senese, but no one has writ that the walls of the chapel are of far more historical value and interest than can be derived from two black little altar pictures, even

though they may possibly be by Giotto himself. These walls are a history in themselves of Naples in the Middle Ages. On two sides the lower part of the walls of this chapel are covered "on the line" by a kind of procession of painted knights, nearly life-size and nearly full length. They end at about the knees.

The mural frescoes in this chapel which really lend to it its chief interest are said by the priest in charge, Padre Ruffo, to be by Tommaso degli Stefani,²⁷ who was born in 1230.

Of the knights, which at once attracted our attention, there are no less than twenty-one, all wearing approximately similar costumes, with flat, rounded helmets, and all much of the same pattern, but with this difference, twelve out of the twenty-one bear a pair of horns such as are here depicted. The two figures here sketched (Figs. 24, 25) are consecutive, and may be taken as quite typical of the whole; they were selected simply because they were in the best light. No photographs are to be procured, and even the rough sketch by the writer was obtained with some difficulty and after a little silver diplomacy.

The chapel is badly lighted, and it is probable that a vast majority of the visitors who enter it do not remain long enough to become accustomed to

the gloom, and so never observe these remarkable wall frescoes on which the guide books are silent. These twenty-one figures are described by the priest in charge of the chapel as personages of the very ancient family of the Minutoli, who had dis-

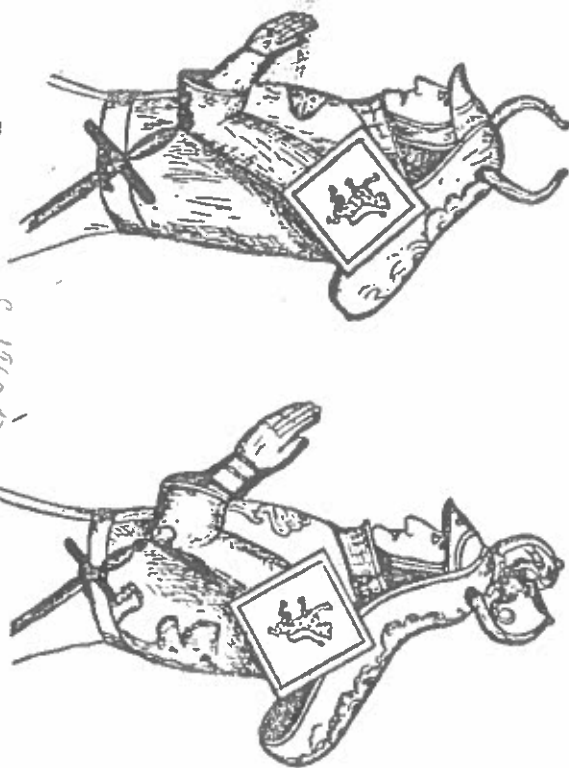


FIG. 24.

C 1800-40
Naples

FIG. 25.

tinguished themselves in arms and in other virtues, of which the chief in this family was considered to be piety, and "hence each one is painted with his hands folded in the attitude of prayer." How ancient is the pose of hands in prayer may be read in Homer. "Loud prayed for them Chryses, lifting up his hands,"²⁸

²⁷ *Iliad*, i. l. 450. Frontispiece badly copied by lithographer.

At another visit to Naples the writer was able to make a fresh drawing. (See frontispiece.) The chromo scarcely reproduces the richness, but it fairly indicates the general colouring, since compared with the original: the sketch was made from the same knight as Fig. 25.

In the days of the Angevin and Aragonese lords of Naples, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, tournaments used to be held in the streets Incoronata, Carbonara, and Costantinopoli, when each knight in turn presented himself at the sound of the tromba;³⁹ and the herald, after having examined his title of nobility, proclaimed it to the assembled people, likewise by the sound of the trumpet, and thus introduced the jousts to the tournament.

A living historian⁴⁰ remarks, "Neapolitans were not the morally and physically enfeebled race they now appear, until after the fatal admixture of the Spanish blood, or rather the Bourbon degradation. . . . Under their Angevin rulers they were a martial not a debased people." Again he says, "The tournament and the troubadour flourished in Naples, though not in Rome or Florence. . . . More virile surely were the warlike people who built St. Elmo and Castel Nuovo . . . and the first stages of the tower of Santa Chiara than their modern posterity." These were all built before 1300.

³⁹ See *ante*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ ST. CLAIR BADAULEY, *Robert the Wise and his Heirs, 1270-1352*, pp. 70, 71.

Upon the causes of the decline we can but offer a diffident opinion, but there is surely some ground for believing it to have had its beginning in the contests within the Church, which led to the "Great Schism" of the rival Popes Urban VI. and Clement VII. in 1377. We read⁴¹ that "all ecclesiastical powers and privileges were incorporated with the jurisprudence of the Kingdom of Naples, which, especially after the accession of the Angevin line, stood in a peculiar relation of dependence upon the Holy See." The Holy See itself had been removed to Avignon in 1305, and naturally its remoteness had exercised somewhat of a blight upon Naples during the seventy years of its undisputed reign in a foreign country; but when in 1377 Italy was divided in allegiance, and Naples with Sicily joined France, Spain, and Scotland⁴² in supporting Clement at Avignon, the loss of stimulant from the Papal court would be still more felt. It is therefore to be expected that the martial spirit of the Neapolitans would evaporate with the emigration of their leaders; while on the return of the Holy See in 1447 a new current had already set in, manners, spirit, and circumstances had changed.

The wearing on the head of the *trombe*, as in our illustrations Figs. 24, 25, in the form of horns is said by Padre Ruffo to represent that the knight had

⁴¹ HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 226 (Eleventh Edition, 1855).

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

been victorious. All the Minutoli knights are represented with two horns or none, it is therefore to be presumed that those who do not bear them were vanquished in the tournament or were noncombatant knights. Each one bears the same escutcheon with the spotted leopard on his left arm.

The remarkable part which this painted chapel plays is that it pictorially interprets the very common Italian adage, "Tornare con le trombe nel sacco, o scornato," that is, "To come back with the horns in a bag, or deprived of horns." This phrase is translated in Baret's dictionary "To come home with empty hands," in other words, unsuccessful, vanquished. Here we find a most conclusive proof of the way in which habits or customs long become obsolete and forgotten, have yet preserved a record of their ancient importance, wrapped up in the history of the words once used to describe them. In these latter days, however, those special words have acquired a force and a meaning altogether foreign to that in which they were first applied; while if used now in their original sense they would convey no meaning at all to those who know nothing of the customs which gave rise to them. At first sight, and without context, our English word *scorn* seems to have no sort of connection with the wearing of horns on the helmet as a badge of victory, yet in the light thrown upon it by the portraits of these old Italian knights we see clearly what our own common word really

means. *Scornare* in Italian still signifies to deprive of horns, but at the same time the modern Italian noun *scorno* has to-day acquired precisely the same significance as its synonym *scorn* has with us, that is, disgrace, infamy, shame; hence ignominy, extreme contempt. In the old French, also, we find that Cotgrave gives "Escorne—shame, disgrace, contempt, scorn"; and also "Escorné—ruined, defaced, disgraced, scorned." In modern French, however, although we have heard the word *corné* in the sense of disgraced, it would appear from Littré that in losing the *s*, the word has dropped out of literature in the sense of general contempt; while, strangely, it has adopted and kept alive in France the same reference to contempt in respect of conjugal infidelity and marital disgrace, that from the Middle Ages onwards seems to have been associated with the wearing of horns by husbands in England, as well as in many other countries. Frequent allusions to this are found in Shakespeare, but still more so in the coarser dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who made breaches of the seventh commandment their principal stock-in-trade for the construction of their plots. In modern French it seems that the survival of the *s* is only found in the word when alluding to this subject, for Littré's single notice of this specially disgraceful meaning under the heading *cornier* is, that those who receive "*escorne*" *dans la marriage* are called *cornards*.

'Scorn'
Cost of Honor

alluding

It is a curious lesson in the development of verbal significance to find such an absolute reversal of meaning as the present use of the word *scorn* displays. Not only is the object of the ancient custom of wearing horns completely changed from honour to dishonour, but the word by which it was denoted has become entirely revolutionised. Further, we see that the sense of the word itself has completely passed over from the object to the subject. Scorn now signifies not simply disgrace or contempt, but the contempt felt by another for him who is disgraced or *scorned*—i.e., dishonoured—and by no means implies disgrace to him who feels the scorn.

That which we have shown to be part of the components of our royal crown, and even so late as the fourteenth century (the wearing of the horns on the head) to be the sign of honour, pride, and victory to all wearers, had become at the end of the sixteenth century, at least figuratively a sign of the utmost disgrace, and a mark of the grossest form of ignominy upon him who wore them. So entirely had this notion of turpitude supplanted all ideas of honour, that *cornutes* and the allusions conveyed by the word, became the staple commodity on which the Jacobean drama, and that of the Restoration, as we have said, was chiefly composed. The transition of meaning both in word and custom took place (probably late) in the sixteenth century, and is plainly exhibited by Shakespeare, who in his

day evidently understood both the honour and dishonour.

Jaques. Which is he that killed the deer?

1st Lord. Sir, it was I.

Jaques. Let's present him to the duke, like a Roman conqueror; and it would do well to set the deer's horns upon his head for a branch of victory. Have you no song, forester, for this purpose?

and Lord. Yes, sir.

Jaques. Sing it; 'tis no matter how it be in tune, so it make noise enough.

"What shall he have that killed the deer?

His leather skin, and horns to wear.

Take thou no scorn, to wear the horn;

It was a crest ere thou wast born:

Thy father's father wore it,

And thy father bore it.

The horn, the horn, the lusty horn,

Is not a thing to laugh and scorn."

As You Like It, act iv. sc. 2.

"Let's write good angell on the devil's horne;

'Tis not the devil's crest."

Measure for Measure, act ii. sc. 4, l. 16.

The turpitude attaching to the wearing of horns was perpetuated long into the present century; indeed among certain classes it may be said still to survive. A fair held at Charlton in Kent on St. Luke's day (October 18th) was called the Horn Fair so late at least as 1825. On that day a procession, of which we have accounts dating back to 1598, used to start from Cuckold's point near Deptford, and march through Greenwich to Charlton. The riotous mob composing it used to wear horns of different kinds upon their heads; while, at the fair,

rams' horns, gilded toys, and even gingerbread in the shape of horns were sold. All kinds of licence and indecency used to be practised on Blackheath, whence the proverb, "all is fair at Horn Fair."

The custom is said to have arisen from the symbol of St. Luke: a bull (see Chapter III.); and possibly the disgraceful notions connected with horns, which seem to have arisen in the Elizabethan period, may have led to or have been an excuse for the orgies practised. The custom is also said to have arisen from a grant made in atonement for an adulterous wrong by King John.

Even to-day we see now and again in fairly respectable prints that the allusion to horns in this sense is by no means forgotten, while, of course among the lower classes, the whole notion remains in full force and is daily expressed in the coarsest vernacular. In France, as we should expect, it appears more frequently and openly as the basis of a joke than in English prints; for instance, the coloured frontispiece of a well-known comic paper³ represented two smart young ladies, with a cattle show in the background. The dialogue was:—

"Ça n'a pas l'air de l'intéresser?"

De bêtes à cornes? Oh! là là . . .

J'ai déjà mon mari toute la journée à la maison."

Going back to Italy, so completely has the notion of marital disgrace, implied by the wearing of horns,

³ *Petit Journal pour rire*, No. 10 (March 6th, 1897).

supplanted the old one of chivalrous victory and honour, that even the mere gesture called the *mano cornuta*, when made in a particular and well-known manner, is considered to be the deepest insult one man can offer to another; no less than the implication that he wears horns. It is this insulting gesture, explained later, that is expressed in the common phrase *Far le corna a uno*. The same is understood by like expressions in French, English, Spanish, and German; but inasmuch as gesture plays so much larger a part in speech with Italians, and with Neapolitans especially, than it does with other people, so the phrase and what it describes has a more deadly meaning to them than it retains elsewhere. Even with us, "to make horns at one" is an expression still to be found in old dictionaries, and in society somewhat less than polite it would be well understood, though obsolete, fortunately, in literature.

Whatever significance may attach to horns as

⁴ Grose, in *Dictionary of British Slang*, 1811, has "Actress, a cuckold; from the horns placed upon the head of Actæon by Diana." In a seventeenth century book (*Paradoxical Assertions and Philosophical Problems*, by R.H., 1659) is a chapter headed "Why are cuckolds said to wear horns?" The author says, "Is it not because the abused cuckold becomes lunatic at the affront, and so every moon at least, being either changeable, jealous, or horn mad, or all three, he wears horns by assimilation?" Captain Bourke says (*Scatologic Rites of all Nations*, p. 408), "The horns of honor of the deities worshipped by women who were ordered by their husbands to become religious prostitutes were transferred to the husband: what had been the outward sign of extreme devotion and self-abnegation was turned into ridicule and opprobrium."

decorative ornaments, expressive first of honour and later, as we have shown, of the utmost dishonour, yet another aspect was not only the earliest in point of time but by far the most important in the place they occupied.

evil day protection
It was as potent protectors against the ever dreaded evil glance that in all cases their great importance consisted; not only were horns worn upon the head as objects intended to terrify the enemy and to protect the wearer, but they were placed for the like purpose upon buildings and various inanimate objects. Figs. 26-29 represent what the writer saw and

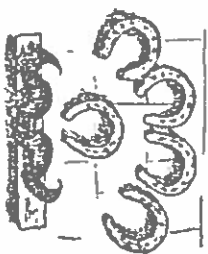


FIG. 26.

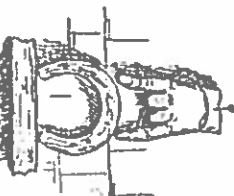


FIG. 27.



FIG. 28.

Corso, Naples.

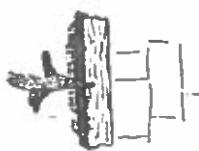


FIG. 29.

sketched over the doors of four consecutive houses on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, near the Gradini Grandi at Naples no longer ago than 1895. These must have been seen by thousands of English, for the steam tram passes along within a few feet, and he can testify to their having been there many years. In 1896, however, the houses had all changed occupants, and only the marks of the objects remained.

We have shown elsewhere that the horse-shoe here in England to be seen nailed on stable and other doors is no other than the cresecent, now usually inverted, *i.e.* with the horns downwards, a position sometimes to be seen in the moon itself, and considered a rain sign.

The Quarterly Reviewer of July, 1895, p. 212, throws some doubt upon the horse-shoe being the cresecent, but only two days before reading that article the writer was told the following: "I knowed a farmer not very var herevrom, an' he 'ad ter'ble bad luck wi' 'is stock. He knowed they must be over-looked. Well, a neighbour told'n he could'n expect no other, zo long as he did keep the 'oss-shoe wrong side up; 'n if he did mind to save his beast (plural *sic*) he must put'n upright, wi' the heels o' un up on end. Well, zo he tookt and he turned the 'oss-shoe t'other way up, and he never had'n a-got no bad luck arterwards."

This was said in all seriousness, but though it does not absolutely prove the identity of the cresecent with the horse-shoe, it does show that there is a belief current as to the latter being most potent when fixed with the horns upwards.

The writer possesses Neapolitan charms which might pass for either a Turkish horse-shoe, or the conventional Turkish cresecent, which is much more circular, with the points or horns brought more together than in the way usual in Murillo's pictures,

as it is generally represented in Art, or as an astro-nomical sign. We take it that the horse-shoe was once habitually fixed heels up, but that as time went on the position came to be considered immaterial, and so it got to be hung, as it now is, in the way most easily contrived. It will be noticed in Fig. 27 that both hand and shoe are pointing downwards, while St. Luke (Chap. III.) is making the same gesture with the hand pointing upwards. On the other hand the *Dextera Dei* in this position (called the *mano cornuta*), above the altar in the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, is pointing downwards. We submit that these facts establish the conclusion that the horns themselves and not their direction, were of the first importance, and that their position, whether pointing up or down, was secondary, though not to be disregarded.

Fig. 30 represents what in February, 1899, was



FIG. 30.

to be seen over the doors of a grocer's and a butcher's shop in the same neighbourhood. Nearly every butcher in the unfashionable parts has a pair of horns over his door, usually painted red, blue, and white. Passengers by steam tram to Pozzuoli may see a fine assortment of these things at Fuorigrotta.

The following advertisement from a Neapolitan paper is instructive:—

"CONTRO LA JETTATURA.

"CORNI, PORTA FORTUNA, elegante e grazioso articolo in ceramica fantasia, da appendere in salotti, ecc. Chi rimetterà cartolina vaglia di L.1,20 ne riceverà due bene imballati in apposita Cassetta. Trasporto a carico dei committenti. Commissioni e vaglia.

"C. LOPES & C., fuori Barriera Arcina. N. 62—Firenze."⁵⁵

It should be noted that *cornu* in Italian argot means *phallus*, and hence is the most powerful of prophylactics, especially *la corne torse*.⁵⁶ We have remarked elsewhere that in modern Italy charms of all sorts and descriptions are called *un cornu*.⁵⁷

How extremely ancient is the practice of setting up horns or other amulets for protection upon various buildings, particularly on dwelling-houses, or in rooms, as in the above advertisement, can be inferred with certainty, although perhaps few except at Pompeii, are now actually remaining upon ancient edifices.

From the nature of the material used, this must necessarily be the case; yet we occasionally come upon objects which certainly bear out our contention.

In ancient Greece so much was this the custom, that although none of these protecting amulets can have survived *in situ*, because the wood to which they

⁵⁵ *Corriere da Napoli*, 5 September 1896.

⁵⁶ See TUCHMANN in *Widlitz*, September, 1896, p. 106.

⁵⁷ *Evil Eye*, p. 186.

were attached has perished, yet we have abundant evidence in the great number of terra-cotta amulets, of a special kind, still existing. These, indeed, are so numerous as to have acquired a technical name of their own, well understood by all archaeologists—the pre-affix. They were all of a somewhat conventional horse-shoe shape, having a rounded socket at the back by which they were fixed to the ends of the horizontal beams or poles, supporting the flat roofs of Greek houses. These poles rested on the walls, and their ends projected so that the pre-affix formed a sort of finial. We call attention to the close analogy between these pre-affixes and the cross-finials described elsewhere, p. 74, upon the roof poles of the Dubus in New Guinea. Nearly all the Greek affixes had a face of some deity or other in relief upon them, and so far remind us of the faces carved upon the ends of "labels" of fifteenth century Gothic windows. Plenty of them are to be seen in any museum of Greek antiquities. The present writer possesses several, one especially has the head of the Medusa of the early, hideous, split-tongued kind; another is an unmistakable Gorgoneion of the transition period (Fig. 31). It is of much interest to find this later type of face in the same place, and apparently of the same age, together with the archaic. The mode of dressing the hair is the only thing in common with the early and well-known conventional head. But for the snakes this face might pass for any of the goddesses. Another

of the writer's specimens is an unmistakable Dionysos—with two budding horns, like a young bull—the "Bacchus Bicorniger" to which we have before alluded. Another of these pre-affixes (Fig. 32) is evidently a goddess, perhaps Hera or Demeter, with



Tarnio.
FIG. 31.

a face of an altogether different type, and showing considerable artistic beauty and taste.

These two may be taken as very fair samples of the Greek pre-affix to be seen in most museums, and in themselves throw a bright light upon the original intention of faces we see carved over doors and on the outsides of buildings of all ages down to this present. Four others, however, in the writer's possession are of

a totally different kind—a kind that if not quite new to most readers has not yet been adequately studied or defined. There is a single specimen of pre-affix in the British Museum of the same type, and we have noted two others in the Louvre, bearing distinctly female



Terracotta.

Fig. 32.

faces with horns something like these; but with these exceptions we have seen none others at all like them elsewhere. There are certainly none in the museums of Rome, Naples, Florence, or Athens, and we sincerely hope the beautiful drawings here reproduced may lead to discussion and ultimate decision as to whom they represent and under what attribute.

Fig. 33 is on the whole the most perfect of our specimens, indeed the most perfect we have ever yet seen, and shows more of the typical shape of the pre-affix than either of the others. At first we took it



Terracotta.

Fig. 33.

for granted that one and all of them must be Medusæ, with horns mounted by way of reinforcement to the power of the head itself, particularly as we bore in mind many undoubted gorgons' heads with horns

upon them, with which we have dealt elsewhere, and of which we give a specimen, though of much later date, in Fig. 39a.

Another of these heads is here given (Fig. 34),



FIG. 34.

having much the same type of face as the last, yet of course quite distinct and bearing its own individuality.

A third example is shown in Fig. 35, again alike, and yet again quite different. The points in common are the horns on each, and the remarkable expression of terror or fright which all three seem to

have, and which is perhaps still more striking in the originals than in the drawings.

The fourth of these strange countenances is altogether different. Fig. 36 is quite another kind of face,

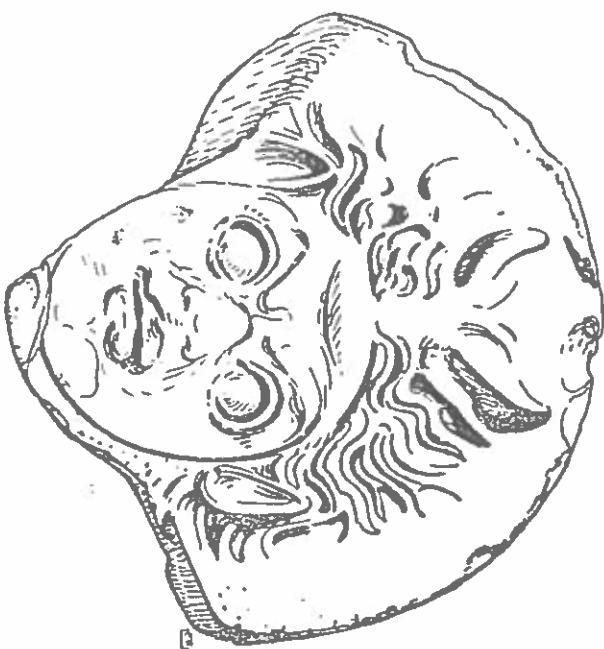


FIG. 35.

and is almost negro in type. Moreover, it does not by any means show that expression of extreme nervous tension so noticeable in the other three. Who can they represent? One other point beside the horns is common to them all—every one has distinctly pointed ears. That is a feature certainly not found upon the usual gorgon's head; neither is

there on these heads very distinctly marked the usual snake-like hair, though we suggest it may be said to be indicated.

Two of these heads (figs. 33, 34) the writer exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, where he



T. W. 36.
Fig. 36.

hoped to obtain some expert opinion upon them, but was disappointed. Recently he has shown all four heads to the authorities at the British Museum, and there he heard the opinion that they all represented Pan, proved by the pointed ears and by the hair, etc. Without venturing to question so expert and

decided a verdict, we venture to point out that only one of the four faces bears an expression at all consistent with that of the jovial, mirthful Pan, and that, except the ears, there is nothing to suggest that he is thereby portrayed. That the Medusa was often depicted with horns we have stated elsewhere, and especially is this proved by an antique bust of one of the Roman emperors in the Doria Gallery, Rome. Of the head on this bust we gave a rough sketch in *The Evil Eye*, p. 198, which is unmistakably a Gorgoneion. Further, this very Medusa has distinctly pointed ears. We also pointed out in dealing with this question how horns and wings seemed to have become almost identical upon Medusæ, just as we have shown them to have been upon Mercury, and later upon the head of Francis I., Duke of Brittany (p. 44). The same notion came down into mediæval heraldry, when the *panache* was either horns or plumes indifferently. We also refer the reader to the Medusa on the cognisance of Trinacria (Sicily) in the *Evil Eye*, p. 292. It will be seen that wings are substituted for ears, while two snakes are so arranged on the head as to have the appearance and to prove the intention of horns.

Again, it seems to us that each face is distinctly female in feature, whereas we cannot recall Pan with any but a decidedly masculine face, however goat-like it may have been.

Moreover, it was quite usual to ornament other female heads with distinct horns. For example, Montfaucon, Vol. I., Pl. 31, Nos. 4, 5, shows two Muses with conspicuous horns on their heads. Again, in the same volume (Pl. 44, 45, etc.), Diana is shown with the crescent on her head, so drawn as evidently to make plain the artist's intention to indicate horns. Also, in the same volume (Pl. 13), Juno is twice represented with horns on her head.

On the whole, we cannot give up our first belief that, after all, the horror of the countenance denotes the Medusa; while as to the pointed ears and the horns, we have proved that she has been adorned with both. Moreover, both snakes and the snaky hair are often omitted, and we suggest that in ancient Tarentum, where alone these pre-affix heads have been found, the artists gave the faces pointed ears as appropriate to the horn-bearing heads they were moulding, and so perhaps set a fashion that came down to Roman times. ^{On the other hand, the} ~~On the other hand, the~~ these are Medusæ has the support of a very high authority. Mr. Marindin writes: "I certainly agree with you that the type of face suggests Medusa, not Pan. If you know undoubted Medusæ with horns, that would suffice." We have therefore called attention to what we stated long before these heads came to light, and think we may venture to say

Q.E.D.

We show later how, in course of time, terra-cotta

objects were supplanted by bronze, so now we point to Fig. 37, which is a sketch of a bronze boss found at Pompeii. It was once, like many others to be seen to-day at Naples, affixed to the outer door of one of the grander houses, and one cannot fail to notice what a very composite design is here also embodied. We may surmise that the owner had seen service in Africa, typified by the elephant's trunk and ears. At the same time it expresses the owner's worship of Isis (so prevalent at Pompeii) by the disposition of the elephant's tusks, so as to appear like the horns appropriate to that deity, raised above the female head, which we may take to represent that goddess. Besides this, the leaves and corn on the brow betoken the cult of Ceres also, or perhaps of more than one other divinity. The

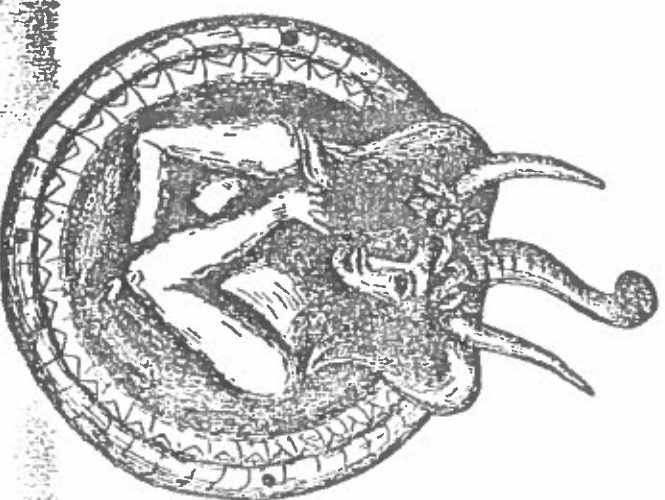


FIG. 37.

1513

prominence, however, given to the horns in the device seems unquestionably to denote that they had been "raised up" on the house for horns of safety or protection.

Of much earlier date, is to be seen in the Museum at Taranto, a solid terra-cotta horn, life size, with a hole at the root-end for suspension. The horn in Fig. 30, to be seen to-day in many parts of modern Naples, is a very fair representation of its artificial prototype, known to be of Greco-Roman origin, dated not later than 300 B.C.

The Etruscans, said to be the most ancient people of whom we have any preserved records in Europe, were evidently, like most primeval races, strong believers in a future state, and took great pains to protect their dead; we may even suggest that precaution, lest the dread fascination should injure the bodies of their help-
less departed, may have led to burning them, and thus we arrive at the ultimate origin of cremation, certainly not the earliest method of disposal of the dead. But we find that along with the burning, infinite care was always taken to preserve and to protect the ashes, in fact it equalled that taken by Egyptians to preserve and protect the entire body. Lest even these ashes should fall under the malignant spell of fasciators, they placed them in little urns of pottery, made doubtless in imitation of the hut dwellings in which they lived when alive, and there can be no doubt but that they were specially "designed to keep

a ghostly evil eye from the dead."⁶⁶ (See also *post*, Fig. 39a.) On these they placed the powerful protecting horns. There are many of these little cinerary hut-urns to be seen in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, and of these Fig. 38 represents a typical specimen, sketched from the original; and it will be noted that it bears no less than four pairs. There is no means of fixing any actual chronology with reference to these hut-urns, but we may at least form some idea.

First, they all belong to the early Bronze Age,⁶⁷ which in Italy implies an exceedingly remote period, inasmuch as from the intimate connection between those countries it must be judged from an Egyptian standpoint; and consequently the Bronze Age of Italy is indefinitely earlier than works of the same stage of civilisation found in northern countries such as our own. In the Vatican Museum there are also several of these hut-urns, which were found on Monte Cavo, near Albano, under three distinct and separate lava streams. Now when we reflect that the summit of Monte Cavo was the goal of the Roman triumphs from their very beginnings, we may be certain that

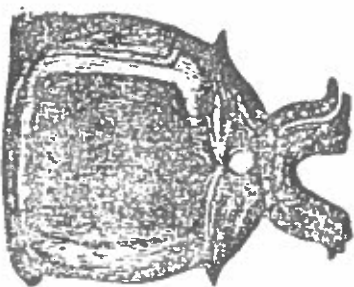


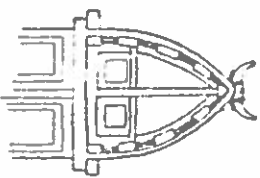
FIG. 38.

⁶⁶ F. L. GRIFITH in *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 236.

⁶⁷ MONTELIUS, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, 1895.

is history goes back very long before the foundation of Rome. It is in itself an extinct volcano, and must have been such for ages before then; for no account, even traditional, of an eruption remains. Yet it is evident that at some time or other there must have been three separate eruptions since they were deposited, so as to have spread three distinct layers of lava above the Etruscan ashes, once contained in the hut-urns now in the Vatican; and thus we are brought face to face with an extraordinarily remote antiquity.

Much later we find a Greek tomb in Lycia (Fig. 39) over the door of which were placed the protecting horns to guard in this case the bodies, not the ashes, of the dead.



From *La Villa dei Greci*, (Juhl e Konec Trau, di C. Gutschall), p. 99.

FIG. 39.

Still later, when cremation had again become the fashion, we find many urns and other receptacles for the ashes, to be decorated with objects which were surely intended as protectors of that which they contained. In the Vatican and other museums of Italy are numbers of little marble house-like boxes bearing sepulchral inscriptions, and at the same time ornamented with erect serpents, a gorgonion, or some other well-recognised symbol. We have not, however, sketched any other than that shown in Fig. 39a, which is the front of one of them; this besides the Medusa's head, shows the head rein-

forced by the protective horns. Thus we see after an interval of unknown ages, from the time of the horned urns of the Etruscans (see Fig. 38), how, along with the revival of cremation, the same protective horns were placed over the ashes in the late Roman period, to which this belongs.

In Naples to-day most of the butchers' shops, as before remarked, have a pair of bullock's or ram's



Uffizi, Florence.
FIG. 39a.

horns over the door, usually painted red and white. The fruiterers and grocers, indeed nearly all provision shops, as the present writer can testify, have somewhere or other the potent single horn suspended. This fact is remarked on by Canon Jorio,¹⁰ who speaks of them as being so placed. Even in this present year, 1899, we have seen many pairs of cows' horns fastened upon the top of garden gates, as in Fig. 40.

¹⁰ *Mimica degli Antichi*, ix 89. See also *Evil Eye*, p. 259.

Moreover, a polished horn, or a pair mounted upright on a polished stand, is to-day a very common ornament in the hotels and in the halls of Neapolitan palaces.

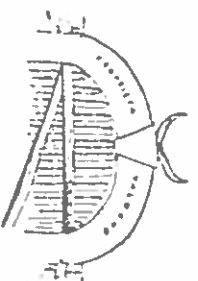


Fig. 40.
Near Celara.

In the Museum at Zurich is a remarkable amulet, said to be Pre-Roman. It was found "am Elersberg bei Andelfingen," and consists of a pair of artificial horns made of stone, and set up in crescent form, so as to be mounted upon a doorway or arch—precisely as is done to-day in various parts of Italy. We have remarked elsewhere (p. 70) on an ancient Greek cow's horn, of natural size, now in the Museum at Taranto, and it is of great interest to find the self-same amulets, though not artificial ones, still in use, after a lapse of at least two thousand years.

Professor Haddon exhibited at the British Association at Dover some pictures of the *Douks*, or large houses in New Guinea. At the end of each horizontal pole forming the main timbers of the roof were large branching roots, having the exact appearance of horns, and serving no purpose whatever, unless such as belongs to similar objects elsewhere. Although so striking to the present writer, he could not obtain any special information about them.

These things curiously call to mind the Greek pre-affixes to their beams, on which we have before remarked, and to which we again refer later.

We confidently submit that the fact is now sufficiently established that horns upon houses and tombs have existed for unknown ages, and that they still exist as protectors against unseen though not the less dreaded influences.

Thus far we have dealt with them as the symbols of powerful protecting deities; such they were considered to be, and they were used as a sort of silent and perpetual prayer for defence against the ever-present threatening danger. They continue to be so used, though the special gods once symbolised by them may be unknown or forgotten.

In the case of the Jewish phylacteries, originally amulets for the protection of the wearers, we know how they got to be "enlarged" so as to become a mark of Pharisaic honour and distinction. It is contended to be the same with regard to horns. First they were used as protective amulets, symbolical of the highest of the gods; and, bearing that aspect, they became, in course of time badges of honour and distinction to their wearers. At the same time dishonour and disgrace were marked by the treatment accorded to them, whether that treatment took the form of exaltation or degradation in a literal or a figurative sense. Precisely the same feeling of honour or disgrace which used to belong to the wearing or deprivation of horns by an individual, is now transferred to and connected with the ensign of all nations; it is a badge of honour to be supported when flying defiantly, it is a badge of

accordance with Greek models received by the Greeks from Egypt, who in their turn, doubtless represented and modified those of the earlier Chaldeans, shown in the man-faced bulls in the British Museum. Being so accustomed to the various forms of the Minotaur, on which the horns were never omitted, whether the head were human or bovine, we may easily account for the confusion as to Pan in the popular mind, through which tradition had to percolate. In fact, "All the gods were one!" sang Orpheus, and we know that Bacchus (called Bicorniger) had horns, Jupiter had horns, Pan had horns; therefore we cannot wonder if we find those of the bull, the ram, the goat used indifferently, and often wrongly. When we



Museo Campidoglio, Rome.

Fig. 54.

ophagus in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

¹²⁵ KING, *Gnaeus*, p. 83; *Symbolica Diana Ephesia*, p. 10: "Apuleius quoque Isin, Iovem Matrem, Minervam, Junonem, Hecatem, Cererem, Venerem, Proserpinam, Hecatem unam, candemque esse praeclat."

Another example (Fig. 55) is from a group in the Naples Museum, almost identical in subject with that from which Fig. 53 was taken. Here the body is the same half man, half goat, and the countenance though different, has an equally bestial expression, and represents as clearly in the original as a face can, all the low animal passions on which we have been dwelling, as well as the malignity of the more intellectual being we connect with the name of Satan.



Nap. Mus.
Fig. 55.

That even in the classic age a more human face was often given to fauns and satyrs (the latter name only signifies older fauns, the offspring of such beings as in later days were called incubi and succubæ) is proved not only by such exquisite works of art as the fauns of Praxiteles and the dancing faun at Florence, but by other works of ancient sculptors. Some of these latter clearly show a transition between the true Pan-like countenance and the beauty of those last referred to, even though the beautiful fauns were of much earlier date.

Fig. 56 represents the heads of two Hermæ now in the museum of St. John Lateran. In the originals the expression of both is wonderful. The horns are merely symbols retained to express the character of the being represented, and are even shown to be artificial and no growth, by being fastened to a fillet

Satyrs

passing round the head. The relationship to Pan is shown by the pointed ears and goat-like beard, but there all resemblance ceases. Along with features



Lateran Museum, Rome.

Fig. 56.

showing marked power and intellect, we see an expression which is well understood, but which we can only describe as devilish. Here are faces uniting the Satan of Milton, of Faust, or Lucio in Miss Corelli's book, with the mere animal, lustful Pan. As represented by these modern authors the devil is more beautiful in feature, yet none could be more fascinating than these faces in the originals, or more clearly show the grandeur of ancient sculpture in portraying character. All who are interested in this subject are strongly recommended, if opportunity should arise, to examine the statues themselves, whence these two heads are but rudely sketched. The heads are about life size.

Leaping over many centuries, during which the Gnostic ideas had their full sway, and brought art down to a very low estate, we next come to a strange period—that of the Knights Templar of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We do not meddle with the accusations, trials, or suppression of that body, beyond noticing the fact that many of the crimes with which they were charged, were before their time laid as accusations against the

early Christians, and since their time have been both revived and kept alive to this day against the Jews. Some of the most atrocious criminal charges of which many Templars were pronounced guilty, and for which they were put to death, are to this day in some countries preferred against the Jews, and no doubt implicitly believed; but it is to the credit of modern justice, that even where the intensest *judenhetze* prevails, there has never been an approach to a legal conviction. Without entering, however, into the controversy, we give in Fig. 57 two aspects of Baphomet, whom the Templars were accused of worshipping, and who is represented by their accusers to be the devil. They are taken from a well-known controversial work—Von Hammer-

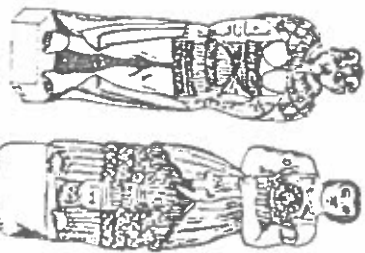
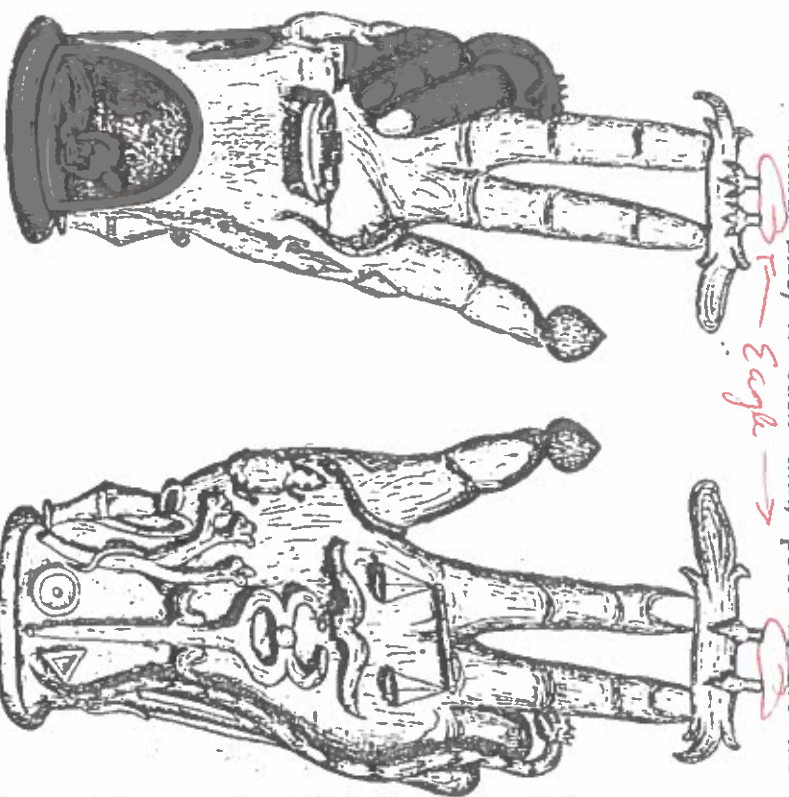


Fig. 57.

Purgstall's *Baphometum Revelatum*. There is no evidence that the Templars either intended these, and other figures they have left behind, to represent the devil, or that they actually worshipped them, any more than other figures in the most orthodox of Christian Churches are worshipped to-day; but the popular and the clerical imagination in the thirteenth century believed them to be intended for the devil, and thus we get some further though slight evidence of what the people of those days thought he was

hands the writer has seen. The minuteness of the objects (for the entire hands are somewhat smaller than natural size) is such that, poor as are the



Pompeii.

Fig. 126.

drawings, they are more distinct than on the bronze originals. The uplifting of both hands by Sabazius in the special pose has its significance.

Fig. 126 is from the original, numbered 384 in the Naples Museum. It was found in 1894 in Pompeii,

and has not before been published. In general size it is about the same as the rest; all are from five to six inches high in their present mutilated condition, *i.e.* with the eagle gone. The average size is well typified by the three or four specimens in the British Museum. This hand again had Jove for its chief deity, though he is only indicated by the tripod with offering cakes, and by the thunderbolt with feet of the eagle, the body of which has in all cases disappeared. The fractures are quite plain in the original bronzes, and the claws show that the bird always faced to the front of the hand. Here again the woman and child are guarded by a cock, and in this case, being somewhat more distinct, it helps to identify the bird.

The cock was sacred to several divinities among the Greeks; to Athene (Minerva) and to Ares (Mars).³⁶⁰ on account of his pugnacity, hence at Athens cock-fighting was instituted during the Persian War.³⁶¹ It was sacred to Apollo,³⁶² to the Sun, and to Asculapius.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ PAUSANIAS, vi. 26, 2. RASCHKE, *Lexicon rei nummariae*, s. v. "Gallus."
³⁶¹ FELIAN, v. H. ii. 58, 28.

³⁶² LAMBLICUS, *Vita Pythag.*, cap. xxvii. HELIODORUS, *Aethiop.*, cap. iii.; also LAMBLICUS, *On the Mysteries*, etc., translated by Taylor, 1895, p. 240. Much information is to be found in this book upon several of the symbols of the gods; especially in a translation of *Dissertation on Theurgy*, by Proclus, p. 343 *et seq.* In this we learn also the symbolic meaning of certain flowers, such as heliotropes, the lotus, etc. We are also told how the cock is much feared by the lion—that there are many demons with a lionine front, who, when a cock is placed before them (p. 345), suddenly disappear.

³⁶³ HECKHEIL, *Doctr. Num.*, vet. i. p. 211 *et seq.*

circular in shape, from half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and although nearly all are broken, it is easy to see that in their original and perfect state they were of various dimensions, ranging from four to eighteen or twenty inches in diameter.

The largest of these in the writer's possession are not covered with small and distinct objects like those here shown, but have each a gorgon's head of the early, grinning, split-tongued type as a centre, round which in concentric circles run well-known Greek patterns, such as, especially, the meander or key-pattern, the egg and dart, and the anthemion. These are described as the "chief characteristics of the geometrical style"²⁷ of the middle Greek period, known now as "Dipylon" from the great finds in the cemetery outside that gate at Athens, where so many of those typical ornaments have been brought to light.

Upon all the discs are a variety of objects which, from our previous study of the pantheistic hands, we recognise at once as symbolic. Most of those recently found are evidently moulds, that is, the symbols upon them are sunk, and are intended to produce a raised impression upon whatever material is applied to them. On the other hand, a few of the Tarantine find are in themselves *camei*, i.e. finished positives, having the objects upon them *in rilievo*.

Previous to the discoveries of the last twenty years,

²⁷ E. GARDNER, *Authority and Archaeology*, 1899, p. 270.

CHAPTER V.

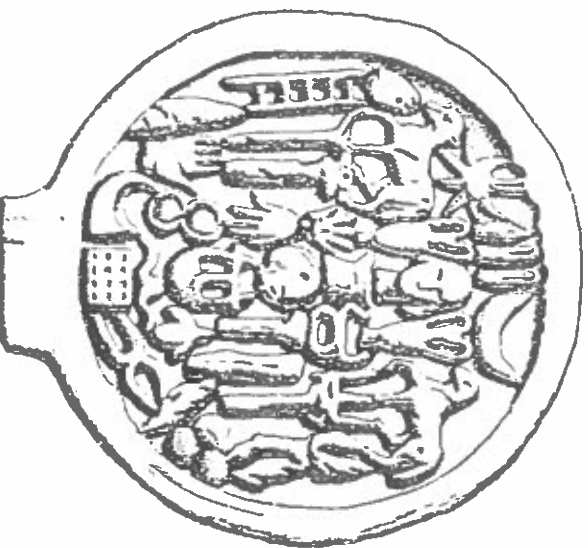
DISCIII SACRI

IN dealing with this subject after that of the *mano pantea* we must face the charge of inconsistency, or of putting the cart before the horse. Our inquiries and our methods are perforce purely inductive, and depend solely upon the collection of facts. We have no desire, as we have no opportunity, to be consistent. Our evidence must speak for itself, and perhaps like testimony of other kinds is often conflicting; our object is merely to state what is true and to leave experts to explain and to harmonise that which appears contradictory.

It therefore comes naturally and not designedly that we should have to trace backwards towards their beginnings the curious hands with which we have been dealing, rather than to take the earlier objects we have now to consider. The title here adopted is, like that of the previous chapter, purely local. It is that given on the spot to a large number of fragments in terra-cotta, lately discovered in the Italian Government excavations at Taranto. Those with which we are now concerned are all flat discs or plaques, mostly

one way
to present
thing

two only of these remarkable discs were known, and upon those two alone has been mainly founded all that has hitherto been written about them, which amounts to very little. The best-known specimen is the single one in the British Museum, presented by the late Sir William Temple, and said to have been found at Pozzuoli. Fig. 162 is a representation of this disc, about which the first notice appears in Jahn's treatise,²²⁸ who



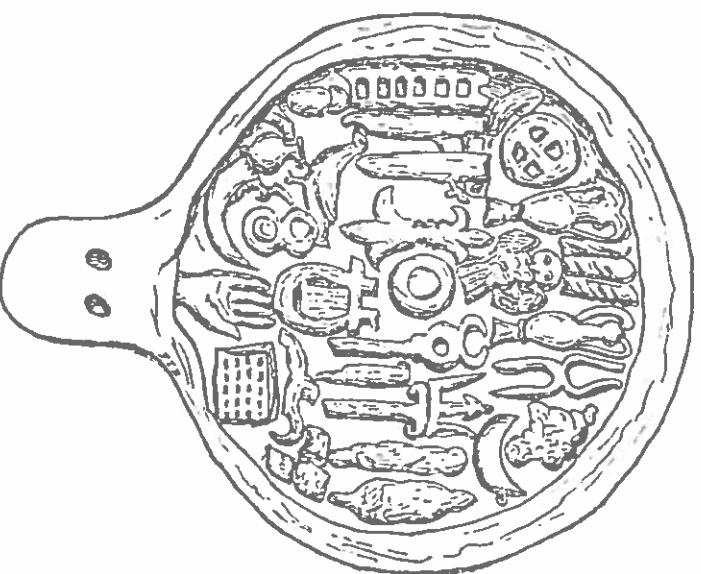
Terra-cotta Disc in the British Museum: actual size of original,
5 in. by 4½ in.
FIG. 162.

speaks of it as a curious monument and a distinct amulet. It is quite evident, however, that he had

²²⁸ *Aberglenben*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

never seen the object itself, but only a drawing which he copies. (*Op. cit.*, tav. v. 3.)

In his note Jahn says that his illustration is one-third of the size of the original, whereas his drawing is $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., while the original is exactly $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 5 in. No observer would be so careless as to estimate the disc in the British Museum as measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., therefore it is clear he only wrote at second hand.



Terra-cotta Disc in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, No. 5466.
FIG. 163.